

Photographic Representations of the South: Eudora Welty and Doris Ulmann

Molly Maher

A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of
the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.
The University of Mississippi

Oxford, Mississippi
May 2017

Approved by

Advisor: Dr. Annette Trefzer

Reader: Dr. Daniel Novak

Reader: Dr. Jay Watson

©2017
Molly Therese Maher
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

DEDICATION

To my advisor, Dr. Trefzer

Who is helpful, patient, and a joy

To my readers, Dr. Daniel Novak and Dr. Jay Watson

For their help and support

To the Honors College

For the incredible education and opportunities given to me

To my wonderful parents and siblings,

For the endless love, support, and patience

To my incredible friends

For the friendship, encouragement, and laughter

Abstract

Eudora Welty and Doris Ulmann both photographed African Americans living in the South during the 1930s. Ulmann photographed the unique Gullah community in South Carolina, documenting their agricultural work, religious traditions, and lifestyle. Welty photographed the African American community within her home state of Mississippi. Despite a parallel interest in subject matter, Welty stated that she did not like Ulmann's photography. This thesis examines the differences between Welty and Ulmann's techniques and their relationships to the South, their subjects, and literary texts in order to identify why Welty explicitly expressed a dislike for Ulmann's photographs.

Table of Contents

	Introduction	7
I.	Technique and Approach: Pictorial vs. Candid Photography	18
II.	Place: Perspectives of the South	31
III.	The Gaze and the Body: Power in Representation	46
IV.	Relationships with Literature: Photography within Text	68
V.	Conclusion	85

List of Figures

I.	Excerpt from <i>Roll, Jordan, Roll</i> , pg. 178	37
II.	“In the bag” <i>One Time, One Place</i>	42
III.	“The Rides, State Fair/Jackson	57
IV.	“Ida M’Toy, retired midwife/Jackson	59
V.	Excerpt from <i>Roll, Jordan, Roll</i> , pg. 95	62
VI.	“Saturday Off” <i>One Time, One Place</i>	64
VII.	Excerpt from <i>Roll, Jordan, Roll</i> pg. 101	66
VIII.	“A Woman of the thirties/Hinds County”	70
IX.	Excerpt from <i>Roll, Jordan, Roll</i> , pg. 90	76
X.	Excerpt from <i>Roll, Jordan, Roll</i> , pg. 112	78
XI.	Excerpt from <i>Roll, Jordan, Roll</i> , pg. 169	80
XII.	Excerpt from <i>The Darkness and the Light</i> pg. 18	81

Introduction

“I do not like Doris Ulmann’s pictures”- Eudora Welty, Aug. 9, 1934.

Before Eudora Welty was a successful writer, she was an amateur photographer. She traveled throughout Mississippi in the early and mid-1930s, photographing the people and places of her home state. In an early letter seeking photographic advice, Welty stated that she did not like Doris Ulmann’s photography. This explicit dislike is interesting as Doris Ulmann, an established and esteemed pictorial photographer, photographed subjects strikingly similar to Welty’s. Welty photographed African Americans in her native state, capturing her subjects’ relationships, interactions, and lives in the South. Ulmann photographed the unique African American community in South Carolina, the Gullah’s agricultural work, religious traditions, and lifestyles. As Ulmann’s photographs show similar interests to that of Welty’s photographs, it cannot be the subject matter that Welty dislikes. This prompts the question of what, then, causes Welty to so explicitly state her dislike for Ulmann’s photographs?

Exploring what prompted Welty’s dislike of Ulmann’s photography consequently prompts broader questions intrinsic to photography in the South. Through examining the differences between Welty and Ulmann’s photographs, this thesis addresses the complex relationship between power, photographer, and subject, while also opening a discussion on the key issues of region, race, temporality, and representation. Did Welty’s candid photography offer a more natural depiction of life in the South than Ulmann’s posed

pictorial photography, or did her use of framing and selecting compromise the implied authenticity of candid photography? Does photographing as a Southern insider offer more insight than an outside perspective? Can the intrinsic power of a photographer over a subject, particularly in terms of race, be overcome? These are all questions that will be addressed when comparing Welty's photographs to Ulmann's.

In order to analyze Welty and Ulmann's photographs for discriminating styles and to distinguish which qualities of Ulmann's photographs spurred Welty's distaste, it is first important to establish how the two women came to photograph African Americans in the South and what their motivations behind the photographs are. Understanding the motivations will help to illuminate the differences behind their photographic representations of Southern African Americans.

As we will see in more detail, each photographer related to the place and the people differently. Ulmann came from New York City to photograph the Gullah people in South Carolina in an effort to preserve an American "type." The early twentieth century saw a large influx of immigrants, and with that came a changing country. With the influx of new culture in a modernizing world, some people wished to "reestablish ties with the people they felt to represent the true heritage of America" (Featherstone 28). This prompted an interest in American "types," people whose ancestors had settled the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Communities of these people living in isolation, whether intentionally for religious and philosophical reasons or inflicted based on geographic location, had resisted modernization. The public became interested in preserving these people, their lifestyles,

and their handicrafts and feared that these American types would disappear with industrialization and the increasingly multiethnic country (Featherstone 28).

This fear manifested in an attempted preservation, and “it was felt, particularly by those in the urban East, that if the life-style of these ‘true’ Americans could be sustained, the integrity of the entire country would somehow be maintained” (Featherstone 28). It was this fear of the new edging out the previously established that prompted Ulmann to turn her camera away from modernity and towards the old and traditional. Ulmann shifted her focus from the typical subject matter of most pictorialists --a concentration on the circle of wealthy family, friends, and colleagues-- to focus on people outside of her social sphere. She decided to pursue an interest in the “pre-industrial” and folk cultures of the United States (Jacobs 54). This use of photography to preserve traditional people in a modernizing world is reminiscent of British survey photography between 1885 and 1918. In *The Camera as Historian*, Elizabeth Edwards discusses survey photography’s attempt to “preserve a record of the material remains of the past before they disappear as a result of erosion, neglect, or the vicissitudes of progress” (Mifflin 92). Just as the survey movement aimed to create a visual record and memory of England in the late 19th century for future generations, so Ulmann aimed to produce a visual record of the fading “types” and people in America. The importance of creating a photographic record is that the people photographed become immortalized in history. After a community of people has “vanished,” the visual record reminds future generations of their previous existence and the images help shape cultural and historical memory of the people of the past.

By 1925, Ulmann’s attention was focused on the vanishing types in American culture (Jacobs 57). She was captivated by what she believed was the heart of America,

the “traditional aesthetics of the craftspeople, farmers, common laborers, writers, dramatists, and poets, for whom vision, spirit, and heart ruled” (Jacobs 55). As these traditional aesthetics were being pushed to the outskirts of society by the industrialization of America, Ulmann sought to capture the faces, lives, and spirit of the American types she feared were disappearing. This fear brought her to the “primitive” and “pre-industrial” communities of the Fishermen of New England; the Shakers of New York; the Quakers, Mennonites, and Dunkards of Pennsylvania; the Appalachian communities in Kentucky and Tennessee, and the Gullah community in South Carolina (Jacobs 55). For Ulmann, “all of these people represented ‘American types’ who were destined to disappear” (Featherstone 32). She felt the urge to photograph and record the faces of the vanishing generation whose traditions would extinguish with their passing in a dignified and respectful manner (Jacobs 56).

In her attempt to record and preserve the existence of marginalized American types, Ulmann’s photographs served to ethnographically record the traditions and lifestyles of these American people (Featherstone 32). In his introduction to *American Editors*, Louis Shipman addresses Ulmann’s role in documenting fleeting communities and life-styles, stating,

Doris Ulmann, with rare skill, persistence, enthusiasm, and I dare say, courage, has collected a group- a distinguished and tragic group- of a fast-disappearing species. Tragic because they are the last of a line of notable progenitors who revitalized and adorned a notable profession (Featherstone 30).

In this way, Doris Ulmann served as not only a photographer and artist but as an ethnographer and anthropologist; her photographs served as raw sociological data of unique lives that existed in the remote areas of the United States (Featherstone 32).

Ulmann's interest in the marginalized American "types" is undoubtedly the result of a liberal education at the Ethical Culture School where its founder, Felix Adler's "faith in the worth of every human being, his belief that differences in type contribute importantly to a democratic society" had been ingrained into Ulmann's conscience (Jacobs 3). In her quest for "ethnoreal and evocative photographs of Appalachian and African American[s]," Ulmann was trying to capture the "vanishing" American types, a mission that one of her African American subjects called, "God's work" (Jacobs xv).

Ulmann's photographs of the Gullah community were charged with purpose. As photography battles against "the frailty of the human memory, against the forces of disordered modernity, and against cultural and material disappearance," she was acting as an ethnographer and her photos were an attempt to preserve an American "type" she feared was going extinct (Hudgins 92). This agenda impacts the representation of her African American subjects. Ulmann began photographing the Gullah people with the intention of recording their unique and traditional lifestyle. Through her use of light, clothing, props, choreography, and choice of subject, Ulmann manipulated her photographs to display the vintage and obsolete image she had in mind. Using her pictorial training, Ulmann displayed exactly the image she felt predisposed to create. Her photographs are not natural or candid; she did not happen upon a scene but planned, designed, and created it. In doing so, she created not only the photographic image but the image and idea of what the Gullah people and their lives consist of.

Eudora Welty had no such agenda and she acts as neither an ethnographer nor a sociologist. Rather, she is an artist using her tool of choice, her camera, to capture moments, interactions, people, and events of the world around her. Outside of capturing

the essence of the Depression-era Mississippi life, the menial and daily tasks, conversations, and familiar faces, Welty had no alternative agenda and thus was able to represent African Americans living in the South with poignant insight.

During the 1930's, there was an increase in interest and demand for documentaries, with Americans desiring representations of the "real" American experience (Atkins-Sayre 81). This resulted in the camera becoming "the tool of those who sought to visualize social facts, to show the truth of what was happening in the culture" (Atkins-Sayre 81). This is especially true during the Depression when Roosevelt's government programs such as the Farm Security Administration (FSA) hired photographers to document and record the living conditions of Americans throughout the country. Welty applied to work as a photographer for the FSA but her application was denied. She did, however, find work through the Works Progress Administration (WPA) from July to November of 1936 as a junior publicity agent. Her job did not entail photography. Instead, she gathered news for local and county newspapers. It was on her own accord that she used her camera to capture the people and scenery around her. The job prompted her to travel throughout the eighty-two counties of Mississippi which greatly impacted her understanding of the people and the dynamics of the state. Welty stated, "I was so ignorant to begin with about my native state... I didn't really get an idea of the diversity and all the different regions of the state, or of the great poverty of the state, until I traveled and until I had talked to people" (McHaney 53). Though her job with the WPA did not directly pertain to photography, it indirectly provided her the opportunity to meet and discover new cities, people, faces, and subjects to capture on film.

A common belief is that Welty's photographs are the product of her job at the WPA. It is important to note that this is not true. Her job entailed traveling throughout Mississippi gathering information and writing reports about the projects created by the New Deal. She took her camera and photographed on her own time. Welty elaborates on the independence of her photographs from her job at the WPA, stating,

In snapping these pictures, I was acting completely on my own, though I'm afraid it was on their time; they have nothing to do with the WPA. But the WPA gave me the chance to travel, to see widely and at close hand and really for the first time the nature of the place I'd been born into. And it gave me the blessing of showing me the real State of Mississippi, not the abstract state of the Depression (Welty, *One Time* 7).

Welty did not send her photographs into the Farm Security Administration branch or the Historic Division of the WPA as so many others did, and she did not take instructions on what to photograph. It is important to understand that Welty's photos were not the product of any governmental program; attributing her work to the WPA attributes a motive behind the photographs that does not exist. The photos were not taken to make a statement, as Welty explains, "I had no position I was trying to justify, nothing I wanted to illustrate. I would see something I thought was self-explanatory of the life I saw" (McHaney 69) She received no instructions and had to meet no criteria. Her photographs were entirely hers in subject, place, and aesthetic.

The independence of her photographs contrasts the work she would have been doing under the supervision of Roy Stryker, head of the historical section of the FSA. His objective was to document and create a pictorial history of America, and to do so he hired a range of professional photographers (McHaney 69). Unlike Welty's, the photography of the FSA is laden with a social agenda. Welty asserts that she was lucky to not have gotten

the job at the FSA, as it allowed her take photos without an agenda and without politics controlling what she chose to capture (McHaney 69).

Peter Sekaer, photographer for the Rural Electrification Administration, expressed distress that “any depressing photograph, any scene of poverty is now ‘documentary’”. There is a great difference between illustrating the activities of people or recording their conditions on the one hand, and preaching a ‘documentary’ sermon on the other” (McHaney 73). Welty’s photographs, like Sekaer’s, show an empathetic perspective of the South in the 1930s. Rather than showing solely desperation and poverty, Welty showed subjects talking, smiling, and laughing.

The different motivations of Ulmann and Welty’s photographs situate them differently in relation to their subjects, resulting in disparities between their representations of African American lives in the South. Ulmann’s agenda created sociological and ethnographic bias in her photographs of African Americans. Thus, her depictions greatly contrast Welty’s photographs which had no agenda other than to capture the essence of the modern African American she encountered in her daily life.

There are multiple factors that differentiate Welty’s photography from Ulmann’s, despite similar subject matter. Chapter I will discuss how their different educations and experiences with photography result in the two photographers utilizing different photographic techniques. Ulmann’s pictorial technique and approach creates images that contrast in form, style, and aesthetic Welty’s candid photography, and consequently, her images and representations of African Americans greatly differ from Welty’s.

Chapter II will discuss another factor that plays into the disparity between Ulmann and Welty’s photographs: their relationship to the South. Ulmann arrived in the

South as an outsider, and therefore she sees the South through an outsider perspective. This outside perspective differs from the view and perspective of Welty, who had been born and raised in Jackson, Mississippi. The differences between inside and outside perspectives highlight their contrasting relationship to the South and result in different representations of life in the South

These relations to the South factor into the next difference between Ulmann and Welty's works- their relationships with their African American subjects. Ulmann arrived a stranger to the Gullah community, and her presence as a wealthy and esteemed white woman alienated her from her subjects. This alienation influenced how she saw and photographed her subjects. In contrast, Welty's modest demeanor and less imposing presence was allowed access to her subjects' lives. Chapter III discusses how this access allowed Welty to capture images of African American lives that enabled her to depict her subjects in modern, progressive, and empowering images that contradict established images.

Finally, Chapter IV will discuss how the two women's photographs differ in their relationships with text and literature. Welty's photographs did not directly inspire her writing and likewise, her stories and texts did not dictate her photography. Rather, the intertextuality lies within her use of fictional photography in her stories. While Ulmann was not a writer, her photographs gain their literary association from her collaboration on Julia Peterkin's book, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. By appearing in conjunction with Peterkin's text, the photographs provide a visual illustration of the imagery described in the narratives. In its wish to retain an antiquity that is lost in the world of modernism, Peterkin's text can be viewed as an attempt to preserve and perpetuate the Old South

plantation life and ideology, and this chapter addresses the effect this association has upon Ulmann's photographs.

Ultimately, each of these differences in technique, perspective, and relationship to place, people, and text result in different representations of African Americans living in the South. These differences distinguish Welty's photographs from Ulmann's, and her distaste for Ulmann's representations provoke Welty, an amateur photographer, to unabashedly declare her dislike for the esteemed Ulmann's photographs.

Before addressing the differences between Welty and Ulmann's photographs in depth, it is necessary to first address why Welty felt the need to distinguish her photographs from Ulmann's. Photographs are powerful in that they help shape perceptions of the world and "alter and enlarge our notions on what is worth looking at and what we have a right to observe. They are a grammar, and more importantly, an ethics of seeing" (Sontag 3). Through their images, photographs dictate what is worth looking at and how the subject is perceived in both the photograph and in reality.

A photograph commemorates a memory and serves as evidence that an event happened. While memory can become hazy, a photograph presents evidence: "a photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened. The picture may distort; but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture" (Sontag 5). Ultimately, photographs "serve as evidence of the 'that has been' of time and the visible world" (Barthes 115). In this way, photographs play an important role in remembering the past. It is through photographs that people create an image, idea, and understanding of the people and events of the past.

Therefore, due to the innate power of photography to dictate the perception and understanding of people of the past, Ulmann and Welty do not simply create different photographic images, but they create different representations that will continue to shape cultural views, perceptions, and understandings of African American life in the South. Photography's claim to objectivity makes photographs the "ideal medium" for "naturalizing" cultural norms of gender and race and therefore affirms cultural stereotypes as being "real" (Atkins-Sayre 80). This is important to note when comparing Welty and Ulmann's photography; it prompts the questions of whether Ulmann's pictorialism makes the same claim to objectivity as Welty's candid photography and how the two differing techniques ultimately represent cultural norms and lives in the South. Welty used the powerful tool of photography to create images that depict her African American subjects very differently than Ulmann, and consequently she promotes a different cultural perspective and understanding of their shared subject matter.

II: Technique and Approach: Pictorial vs. Candid Photography

The first and foremost difference between Welty and Ulmann's photography is their difference in photographic technique. Ulmann was a pictorial photographer whereas Welty's technique of choice was candid photography. This difference in technique establishes a primary visual difference between the two photographer's work. Pictorial photography is an older photographic form that had waned out of style with the rise of its successor, straight photography. Straight or "pure" photography consisted of "photographs that look like photographs," or photos "devoid of the manipulation so prevalent in the work of pictorialists" (Newhall 167). Candid photography executes a straight photographic aesthetic. Instead of manipulating the visual appearance of photographs as pictorial photography does, hand-held cameras allow photographers to manipulate the image through cropping and trimming their negatives to focus on the portion of the photo of their choice (Newhall 217). Thus, the photographic styling and aesthetics of Ulmann's pictorial photographs greatly contrasts Welty's candid photography, and consequently the two methods result in entirely different photographic representations of their subjects.

In pictorial photography, the photographer manipulates a straightforward photograph to create a more artistic image. Pictorial photographers believed photography to be an art form, similar to painting or drawing in its emotional effect on the viewer (Daum 8). Pictorial photographs are characterized by their rounded edges which appear more natural, as "nothing in nature has a hard outline, but everything is seen against

something else, and its outlines fade gently into that something else, often so subtly that you cannot quite distinguish where one ends and the other begins” (Newhall 142). A pictorial photograph typically uses a soft focus, thus creating the slightly ‘fuzzy’ images, is printed in many tones, ranging from light and dark browns to blue and grays, and may have other artistic manipulations such as brush strokes (Daum 8).

The term ‘pictorial’ became popularized in 1886 with Peter Henry Emerson’s lecture “Photography, a Pictorial Art,” in which he stated that the “artist’s task was the imitation of the effects of nature on the eye” (Newhall 142). To recreate the image of nature, he set the camera slightly out of focus, creating the effect of a slight fuzziness. He warned however, that the “‘fuzziness’ must not be carried to the length of *destroying the structure* of any object, otherwise it becomes noticeable, and by attracting the eye detracts from the harmony, and is then just as harmful as excessive sharpness would be...” (Newhall 142). Thus, the fuzziness created by the photographer is an artistic execution of perspective, manipulating the photo to imitate nature. This manipulation is paradoxical in its nature: a photograph is supposed to be an exact record of the real world, yet it requires manipulation in order to match a visual experience.

The pictorial movement, initiated in Europe, was incorporated into American ideas of photography and art by Alfred Stieglitz. In 1902 Stieglitz formed a new society to further the recognition of pictorial photography as art, the Photo-Secession. Its goals were stated in threefold: “To advance photography as applied to pictorial expression; To draw together those Americans practicing or otherwise interested in art; To hold from time to time, at varying places, exhibitions not necessarily limited to the productions of the Photo-Secession or to American Work” (Newhall 162). The Photo-Secessionists were

vindicated in their belief that photography should be recognized as a true art form after the success of the international exhibition of pictorial photography at the Albright Art Gallery in Buffalo, New York. Not only was the photography on display in an art museum, but the museum purchased fifteen prints to place on permanent display (Newhall 164).

Ulmann received a formal education in pictorial photography at the Clarence H. White School of Photography. Clarence White was a founding member of the Photo-Secession movement and sought to secede “from the accepted idea of what constitutes a photograph”; his school was “the only school in the United States wholly devoted to instruction in art photography” (Jacobs 19, White 121). Here, White taught the course “The Art of Photography,” covering photographic discovery and development and the “selection of point of view in photography” (Jacobs 21). His colleague Paul L. Anderson taught “Technique in Photography,” in which he instructed students in printing processes including “commercial and hand-coated platinum, silver, single, and multiple gum, oil, bromide, and photogravure” (Jacobs 21). These were the pictorial photographic techniques that Ulmann would practice throughout her career.

Ulmann’s photographic process of choice was the platinum process. Discovered by William Willis in 1873 in England, a platinum print, also called a platinotype, is created by the property of iron salts that change from the ferric state to the ferrous state when exposed to light. Then, in the presence of the ferrous salts and when developed with potassium oxalate, the platinum salts are made more stable, thus creating the long permanence of the prints (Newhall 142). This process was favored for “its extended tonal

range, the gentle gradations of its tones, and the subtle feeling of texture imparted by the paper's surface" (Featherstone 12).

At the start of her photographic career, the "quaint and atmospheric" were the accepted genres. Therefore, Ulmann's earliest photographs depict old buildings, winding streets, maritime scenes of boats, landscapes, and still lives (Featherstone 13-14).

However, in 1918, Ulmann began to focus primarily on portraiture, an approach that allowed her to practice her pictorial methods while developing her own style and photographic aesthetics.

Most of Ulmann's portraits were taken in her home, 1000 Park Avenue, where she used the living room as a studio and a bathroom as the dark room (Newall 19).

Ulmann created an atmosphere of comfort for her subjects. Upon entering the studio, they were asked to choose a chair, pull it to the window, and assume a position of their choice. She served beverages, food, and cigarettes while maintaining a steady conversation. This not only relaxed the subjects but allowed Ulmann the opportunity to observe them; observing their mannerisms and personality enabled Ulmann to decide the best approach to creating a portrait that best exemplified them (Featherstone 21). In making her subjects comfortable, she hoped that they would reveal themselves and that she would be able to capture their personality in a print. Ulmann describes her picture taking process, stating,

Whenever I am working on a portrait I try to know the individuality or real character of my sitter and, by understanding him, succeed in making him think of the things that are of vital interest to him. My best pictures are always taken when I succeed in establishing a bond of sympathy with my sitter. When there is the slightest suggestion of antagonism, then my best efforts are of no avail (Featherstone 21).

In his article, "Doris Ulmann: Photographer in Waiting," Dale Warren describes

Ulmann's portrait process:

You select your own chair, move it up to the window, and then assume the position that you enjoy above all others, with or without pipe, cigarette, ukulele, or volume of the Encyclopedia Britannica, according to the state of your desire... You continue to smoke, play, read, or ponder silently on your sins and with never so much as a click of a shutter the likeness of all that is mortal of you is for all time preserved. If you should be led to think that the tea and the cocktails and the cigarettes and the conversation are merely dispensed for your enjoyment you will be all wrong. Mrs. Ulmann would say that these things are offered to “draw you out.” She studies your hands as you pass her a plate of cakes, observes which leg you cross over the other, notices the expression of your eyes, tells you a funny story to make you laugh, and another not so funny to see if you are easily reduced to tears (Jacobs 82).

Ulmann used props and objects to indicate the profession, social position, and identity of her subjects. Objects such as clothes, books, medical and writing instruments, tools, and crafts were used to fully shape the identity of the subject (Jacobs 82). Ulmann was not seeking to simply document her sitter, but rather, she desired to create as an artist and “composed and recomposed the individual before her until she felt she had captured the essence of their character and personality” (Jacobs 85).

Through her portraiture, Ulmann came to meet hundreds of very important and influential people. As she was particularly interested in the literary field, several writers and poets are featured in Ulmann’s collection, such as Sinclair Lewis, Fannie Hurst, Thomas Wolfe, Thornton Wilder, Stephen Vincent Benet, Robert Frost, and Edna St. Vincent Millay (Featherstone 22). Outside of literature, she had a keen interest in the arts. Consequently, she produced portraits of dancers Ruth St. Denis, Martha Graham, Anna Pavlova, and Doris Humphrey, painters, Jose Clemenete Orozco, Max Weber, and Boardman Robinson, sculptors Malvina Hoffman, George Grey Barnard, and illustrator Charles Dana Gibson. Ulmann’s collection of portraits features very few photographers, only Clarence H. White, Carl Van Vechten, and Ansel Adams (Featherstone 22).

Ulmann also made portraits of dignitaries in many other fields. These include Albert Einstein, Helen Keller, Harvard University president Charles Elliot, historian Will Durant, and Hindu philosopher Rabindranath Tagore (Featherstone 23). Ulmann ventured out of her home studio to make portraits of Blair Niles in Manhattan's East Side, Sherwood Anderson in Virginia, and President Calvin Coolidge in Washington D.C. (Featherstone 23).

It is not the portraits taken from her living room, however, that Ulmann is most famous for. These portraits are limited in light, contextual backgrounds, and natural props, which lends them a sense of superficiality (Featherstone 25). Her real success lies within her portraits of individuals in rural communities. It is within these photographs that Ulmann is best able to depict a true sense of character. She sought people living in rural communities because she was attracted to their sense of experience and "interesting faces." She stated, "A face that has some marks of having lived intensely, that expresses some phase of life, some dominant quality or intellectual power, constitutes for me an interesting face" (Featherstone 26). Ulmann first began traveling short distances outside of New York City to reach more rural communities, but then began traveling farther distances to capture the "interesting faces" she was looking for, eventually traveling to South Carolina to photograph the African American Gullah community. Once she found a subject she wished to photograph, she would thoughtfully choreograph the photo. When staging a photograph,

She positioned her sitters' faces, hands, upper torso, or whole body in natural light, against a background of the darkness of a room or window or door so that their personality and character might become the primary concern of the viewer (Jacobs 25).

Her photographic forms often included older individuals and typically people performing menial, daily chores or sitting in front of a dark background (Featherstone 45).

Despite advancements in technology and equipment, Ulmann remained faithful to her original camera, despite its large and cumbersome size. Though she was a petite woman, only five feet, four inches and weighed only 115 pounds, her small stature did not detract her from using a large and bulky glass-plate camera and tripod. She used a whole plate 6 ½ x 8 ½ inch format with soft-focus lenses. The images had a sharp focus at the center and edges that could be adjusted to different degrees of fuzziness. Exposures were made by removing the lens cap, waiting the appropriate amount of time, and then replacing the cap. She did not use a light meter, but rather used her experience and knowledge to determine the length of time of light exposure (Featherstone 18). Ulmann's choice to maintain her original photographic process and equipment is a conscious one. As a wealthy woman, she could have easily afforded flexible base film, mechanical shutters, light meters, light-weight cameras, and sharp-focus lenses (Featherstone 18). Instead, she remained faithful to her large glass-plate camera because it had earned the reputation as being the best for portrait studios (Jacobs 25).

Much of Ulmann's photography involved traveling to remote communities. As her equipment was large and bulky and she was petite and rather frail, she required help and assistance in her travels. For long distance travels Ulmann rode in her own Lincoln and an accompanying car was filled with tools and equipment including "unexposed glass plates, chemicals, and large sheets of black cloth they used to darken hotel room windows so that film holders could be changed" (Featherstone 36). This equipment was physically taxing and only became more so when at the age of forty-nine, Ulmann "fell on the street

and knocked [her] knee against the curbstone and fractured it badly” (Jacobs 91). At this point, Ulmann decided to hire an assistant to help her with her equipment when traveling.

She found a trustworthy and faithful assistant in John Niles. Their relationship began in 1927 when Ulmann attended the theater and saw Niles, a young singer and actor, perform. Niles had been touring the United States and Europe performing “Negro Exaltations and Kentucky Mountain Songs” when Ulmann approached him with a proposition. The task of carrying her heavy equipment and traveling to reach her desired subjects had become too difficult and she was forced to rely on help. She needed someone strong who could carry her equipment and Niles appeared the perfect candidate (Featherstone 35). In exchange for his assistance in her photography, she would be a patron for his musical career. He agreed and thus began a relationship that would remain until Ulmann’s passing. Niles would perform faithfully as her photographic assistant for years (Featherstone 36).

The formality, choreographing, manipulating effects, and heavy equipment of pictorial photography resulted in depictions entirely different from Welty’s. In juxtaposition to Ulmann, Welty received no formal photographic instruction. Rather, her affinity for photography stemmed from a childhood of being surrounded by cameras and photographs; her father had been an ardent amateur photographer and helped to open Jackson’s first camera store (Marrs 3). In a letter to Berenice Abbott, it is evident that Welty desperately longed for photographic instruction. She wrote:

I have received no instruction in photography, except from various books which I send off for rather blindly, encyclopedias, etc., but I have been taking pictures to suit myself artistically, more or less for three years... I have photographed everything within reason or unreason around here... I can get no further here, because I know next to nothing about making my own prints, the chemistry involved, enlarging, etc. (McHaney 58).

While Welty saw her lack of education as a crutch, it actually liberated her as a photographer and as an artist. Since no one had instructed her on what or how to photograph, she was not held back by any technical or preferential restraints.

Welty did not create sentimental, pictorial, or staged images. Instead, she preferred candid photography and most of her pictures were taken “without the awareness of the subjects or with only their peripheral awareness” (Marrs 42). She elaborated that “the snapshots made with people’s awareness are, for the most part, just as unposed: I simply asked people if they would mind going on with what they were doing and letting me take a picture (Marrs 42-43).

Photographer and author of the book *Candid Photography with the Miniature Camera* Kip Ross explains,

In candid photography, the subject is unaware of the photographer, or at least appears to be for the time being, engaged in some occupation peculiar to himself, or to his type. The essence of candid photography is *action*. Get pictures of people *doing things*...the *action* they are performing should be the *reason* for that picture (McHaney 65).

With this in mind, one must consider Welty’s photographs- groups of men talking together, a woman window-shopping, and a man and woman conversing on the street. It is the *action* they are performing that Welty captures on camera. Welty stated that “I never posed anybody- that was on principle- ... I let my subjects go on with what they were doing and, by framing or cutting and selection, found what composition arose from that” (McHaney 68). This is an interesting statement by Welty. Her assertion that she never posed her subjects suggests a naturalism and authenticity within her photography. However, Welty was still able to manipulate the photograph to satisfy her aesthetic by

controlling the framing, cutting, and selecting of the photograph. This manipulation, however, was less explicit than Ulmann's pictorial approach and choreographing.

Welty was not trying to choreograph a particular image or moment but rather tried to capture the moment, experience, or expression she saw before her. In a more discreet form of manipulation, Welty used the language of candid photography and its claim to objectivity to naturalize the image she selected.

A common misconception created by her candid photography is that Welty was not a serious photographer. This idea is encouraged by her modesty, calling herself unskilled and her photographs "snapshots," yet it is untrue. Welty discredits this idea in her assertion that

The lucky snapshot has not been accidental, even though an amateur has made it. His own eye has seen first, has chosen, what the eye of the camera is to take in, and directed the instant for the film to register it. The photographer learns the possibilities of his tool- what depth or intensity of focus will regard him, what advantage can be taken of light and shadow- but beyond this, it is essential for him to be sensitive to the speed, not simply of the camera's shutter, but of the moment in time. . . . Framing a few square inches of space for the fraction of a second, the photographer may capture- rescue from oblivion- fellow human beings caught in the act of living. He is devoted to the human quality of transience. Here lies whatever value his picture-taking has. So no photograph is without its subjective implications' the eye of the camera is recording what the eye of the photographer is discovering (McHaney 83).

Welty's snapshots were no lucky accident, but were the products of a serious and intentional photographer seeking to capture "fellow human beings caught in the act of living" (McHaney 83). This illustrates a complex dynamic in Welty's photography. She stated that the camera simply records what the eye is discovering, yet she attributed an agency to the photographer in creating the image. Through framing and selecting, the photographer does not simply record what he is seeing and discovering. Instead, the photographer carefully and intentionally considers how an image is recorded.

Pearl Amelia McHaney attributes what Ralph Waldo Emerson called a “tyrannous eye” to Eudora Welty. McHaney defines the tyrannous eye as “one that seeks to see beyond the frames while using the frame to give proportion, seeks to observe silently, but politely, so as to gain perspective and keep objectivity” (McHaney 3). Welty possessed this acute eye and used her camera to photograph common, everyday instances that are often overlooked, and so without her subjects realizing, Welty was able to capture pictures that depict the essence of the life around her. Welty’s use of the “snapshot” photography creates a natural, easy sense within the setting and allows viewers to feel they are looking through a “window into the South” (Atkins-Sayre 83).

Unlike Ulmann who engaged heavy equipment, Welty was able to easily bring her camera with her throughout her travels in Mississippi because her equipment entailed only a small, discreet hand-held camera. As her father’s camera had been a folding Kodak, so Welty’s first camera was also a Kodak, the Six-16. This camera made $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ negatives, and was not a box camera but instead used a bellows. It had a 6.3 lens and a common shutter. Welty stated that the camera “allowed for $1/25^{\text{th}}$ and $1/50^{\text{th}}$ and $1/100^{\text{th}}$ of a second exposure... I could really see the 116 negatives before I printed them or made enlargements” (McHaney 55). In late 1935 or early 1936, she transitioned to a $3' \times 4'$ Kodak Recomar 18 or 33 that used film packs of a dozen exposures before again transitioning to a “ $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ Rolleiflex that used 120 or 220 film, or took twelve or twenty-four shots” (McHaney 55). Quite content with this camera and “the wonderful ground glass viewfinder, which was the exact size and shape of the picture [she] was going to take... [she] got a sense of composing a precise picture, and the negatives were

lovely to work with”; she used it until she left it in a Metro station in France in 1950 (McHaney 55).

Welty’s hand-held camera is pivotal for her candid aesthetic. Peter Galassi, director of photography at the Museum of Modern Art from 1991 to 2001, expands upon the importance of Welty’s use of a hand-held camera, asserting,

first established in Europe...the new aesthetic encouraged improvisation since it required no advanced planning beyond keeping a roll of film in one’s pocket. By enabling the photographer to respond immediately to the world around him, the hand-held camera fostered an art that explored the relationship of the individual to his social environment (McHaney 56).

Welty could not have captured the people around her as inconspicuously as she did with a large camera that required much time and effort. The speed of the hand-held camera was essential to Welty’s candid photography. Without cumbersome equipment, the tripod, and a camera that needed assembly, Welty was able to wait for what Henri Cartier-Bresson termed the “decisive moment” and “by simply releasing the shutter at a precise time and place [she] could make a factual record. With exceptional luck, [she] might capture a lyric notion that soared beyond the documentary goal” (McHaney 56). Had she used camera equipment similar to that of Ulmann’s, it would have been near impossible for her to take photographs of others without their knowing, and thus, she would not have been able to capture the active and dynamic lives of those around her. Because the small camera can be brought into action quickly and swiftly, it has been referred to as “an extension of the eye” (Newhall 225). It is the speed, agility, and compactness of Welty’s camera that captured the humanity and everyday reality that her photographs display.

Ultimately, the differences between pictorial and candid photography result in very different representations of similar subject matter. Though Ulmann’s photographs

appear to be older and more dated than Welty's, her photographs in *Roll, Jordan, Roll* are actually contemporary to Welty's photographs of the Mississippi South. Welty was most prolific in her photography during the early to mid-1930s. As Ulmann's first trip to South Carolina was in 1929 and *Roll, Jordan, Roll* was published in 1933, Ulmann was taking photographs of her African American subjects around the same time that Welty was. Therefore, the differences between Ulmann and Welty's photographic techniques are not due to year or period, but instead must be attributed to differences in aesthetics, techniques, and technologies. Welty's photographic aesthetic was more modern, contemporary to the ease and accessibility that hand-held cameras provided. With her hand-held camera and without formal education, Welty photographed the world around her exactly as she saw it. Ulmann, who had received a formal education from leading pictorialists, was unwilling to adapt her technique and style to accommodate photographic developments and changes in aesthetics. Many pictorial photographers (including members of the Photo-Secession movement like Steichen and Stieglitz) adapted their photographic techniques with changes in popular aesthetics and moved from pictorial to straight photography, yet Ulmann did not. This resistance to more modern photographic techniques and aesthetics conceptually parallels her wish to capture people on the brink of becoming a people of the past: Ulmann used a vanishing technique to capture vanishing people. Consequently, Ulmann's outdated photographic technique promotes an outdated image of Southern African Americans. It is this representation that Welty dislikes, and her photographs work to oppose such images.

II: Place: Perspectives of the South

Photography has played a particularly interesting role in shaping concepts of the South. Katherine Henninger argues that “‘the South’ was itself one of the cultural ideas that arose in conjunction with photography and that the early decades of photography help constitute the visual legacy of the engendered, raced, and classed hierarchies that characterized southern identity” (Henninger 8). Historically, identity in the South has been largely dependent upon race, and as this visible characteristic “is the central marker of social ‘place’, visual representations take on special weight” in the South (Henninger 48). Photography plays an important role in this characterization of regional identity:

[O]nce thought to be the windows to the real, photographic images become the ideal medium for naturalizing a repressive structure of signs. And there is no doubt that they can function that way, as both prized shots and millions of banal, anonymous images reproduce normative conceptions of gender, race, class, and other forms of social identity (Atkins-Sayre 80).

The complex role of photography in the South is an extension of the South’s complex history. David Madden cites photography as a representation of the objectification and defeat in the South during three periods in Southern history: The Civil War, the Depression, and the Civil Rights Era. These three periods were times of extreme turmoil and depicted the South as different from the rest of the nation. During these periods, photography acted upon the misery and suffering in the South and propagated such images throughout the nation, resulting in “Many southerners feel[ing] photographs exposed the South, at its most vulnerable, to staring, sometimes gloating, northern eyes” (Henninger 32).

The Post-Depression South saw a proliferation in personal cameras because they provided a way for southerners to capture the South as they saw it, as opposed to an outside, transitory photographer's viewpoint. Hand-held cameras and personal photography became an act of empowerment, as "the act of seeing and representing the self can signify power, and for white and black southerners struggling to obtain political, economic, and social respect, photographic self-representation was a way of claiming communal and self-identity" (Henninger 39). Access to personal photography allowed southerners, both black and white, to depict the South and themselves as they chose (Henninger 41).

The South's image and identity lie largely within its unique history and culture. Understanding this history is important when contemplating a photographic image, as a contextualized history creates an understanding of the background of the photographed, particularly in terms of race and gender. Henninger's assertion, "know a photo is from the South, and history and context start rushing in" emphasizes the close relationship between the South's history, identity, and photography (Henninger 7).

Because the South has been so visualized and represented through photographs, Americans recognize the South in certain images. Interestingly, the associated images and identities of the South are often images of women; the faces of Scarlett O'Hara-like southern belles, Aunt Jemima, "mammys," or "NASCAR moms" have become part of the South's legacy, part of the history of sexual, racial, and class differences and distinctions (Henninger 5). Photography in the South has made tangible the differentiating race and gender identities. White women were often depicted as genteel

ladies while black women were depicted as maids, servants, farm workers, or wash women (Henninger 36). Neither were depicted as figures of power or control.

The attention given to the Southern white woman, the center of the visualizations of the South, greatly contrasted with the attention given to black women who live in “a world coexistent with the rest but not visible from it” (Henninger 113). While images such as Aunt Jemima, Jezebel, or Brown Sugar may be so familiar as to be “practically invisible, part of America’s racial background noise,” images of the black southern woman’s pride, perseverance, and resistance tend to be unfamiliar (Henninger 113). The roles of visibility and invisibility are central to the African American Southern discourse. However, efforts to shift African American women from the negative space of invisibility to a space of visibility has been met with resistance, due to an

anxiety about technologies of “realism” that have worked to naturalize and reinforce derogatory stereotypes of African American men and women, a wariness born of the historic power of visual representations to evidence the “real” of race, and a fear of potential audience misinterpretation or misuse of these representations (Henninger 114).

The fear is that in shifting an emphasis to African American women, historical context and stereotypical theories of race will further reinforce a misrepresentation, perpetuating the ideas associated with race (Henninger 114). As both Welty and Ulmann produce visualizations of African American women, they put these fears to the test and prompt the question of whether their pictures will perpetuate or counteract established misrepresentations.

The differences between Ulmann and Welty’s representations and depictions of their African American subjects largely lie within their different relationships to the South. The culture of the South is a unique one, and it is difficult for those not

accustomed to the norms of the region to grasp and understand the racial, gender, and socio-economic interactions. Having grown up in Mississippi, Welty possessed an understanding of the history, culture, and complexities of the region that confuse and elude those who have not had its idiosyncrasies ingrained into their upbringing.

Because Ulmann was an outsider and lacked the familiarity with the people, landscape, and customs that Welty possessed, her photographs present a different perspective of the South. Having lived a privileged, urban life in New York City, she may not have understood the social customs and norms, the religious influence, and the complex racial and gender roles guiding the people of the South. As a result, her photographs of southerners are from the perspective of an outsider. My emphasis on Ulmann as an outsider is not made to suggest that her outside perspective inhibited her ability to accurately capture the South. Rather, I emphasize this in order to highlight the contrast between her and Welty's relationship and subsequent representations. Ulmann came as an outsider in order to ethnographically capture and document a people of the South. This contrasts with Welty who documented her subjects during passing moments and chance encounters while she traveled about her home state. These different relationships with the South result in a major difference between their photographs: Welty photographed from the inside whereas Ulmann photographed from the outside.

Ulmann was a complete stranger to the Gullah community and South Carolina, and her role as an outsider to the South was undisputedly established from the start. In fact, she made no real attempt to infiltrate and better know personally the Gullah people and their culture. During her time photographing the Gullah community, she did not stay on the Lang Syne plantation, or even in Forte Motte, the city where the plantation was

located. Instead, she stayed in the capital city of Columbia and drove to the plantation each day (Featherstone 44). Doing so placed a literal and figurative distance between her and her Gullah subjects. She would arrive in her Lincoln, plan, choreograph, and execute the photos, spend time with Peterkin, and leave, never getting to truly know the Gullah people or their lives. Additionally, her transient presence created another barrier between her and the Gullahs. Ulmann did not stay in South Carolina consecutively to obtain the photographs she wanted, but instead divided her work on the plantation into three shorter trips (Featherstone 45). In doing so, she did not stay long enough to acquire a familiarity with the plantation and the Gullahs.

As mentioned, Ulmann wished to capture and preserve a vanishing “type,” yet it was a type she was unfamiliar with and did not understand from personal experience. Thus, she could not properly encapsulate the spirit of the Gullah community in her photographs. The Gullah’s distinct dialect was entirely different from any Ulmann had previously encountered, and this language barrier added to the mounting cultural barrier and her limitations as a photographer. After a week in South Carolina Ulmann wrote a letter home stating, “It seems to be exceedingly difficult to get the studies in which I am interested here. The place is rich in material, but these negroes are so strange that it is almost impossible to photograph them” (Featherstone 43). Her lack of understanding of the individuals and her search instead for a “type” which she sought to preserve may have caused her representation of the Gullah community to be inauthentic (Featherstone 43). Furthermore, Ulmann’s agenda to record a vanishing people prompts a question of representation of African Americans in the South. Is the acknowledgment of the Gullah people as “vanishing” an acknowledgment that they are not representative of African

American life in the South? In attempting to capture a vanishing type, Ulmann generalized and typed the Gullah community as laborers and so tapped into iconography of the South rather than emphasizing individuals. Ulmann's allusions to established Southern iconography, images of plantation life and black bodies performing agricultural labor, is important because cultural iconography "has been especially effective in the study of photography, for to the uninformed eye, these images appear the most iconic and natural of all visual signs" (Reynolds 5).

As a Northerner photographing the South, Ulmann has the perspective of an outsider. She was not familiar with the traditions, cultures, and customs of the places she visited. Instead, she relied on her outside perceptions of the people she encountered. Having grown up in urban, liberal New York City, and having had very limited interaction with the South, it is possible that Ulmann arrived with preconceived notions shaped by established stereotypes popular throughout the nation, such as the images of the "mammy" or Aunt Jemima that Henninger alludes to. Having such presumptions would have affected the way Ulmann perceived the Gullah people and their lives; she would have more easily noticed and focused on the aspects of their lives that she was expecting to see.

For example, upon coming to the plantation in South Carolina, Ulmann's attention was drawn to fields of cotton and black laborers picking large amounts of the cash crop. By taking multiple photographs of cotton picking, she invokes and affirms established iconographic images of race and region. The first photograph that appears features a young boy, probably under the age of ten, sitting in front of a huge burlap bag overflowing with the white, fluffy cotton. The boy appears small next to the bag which is

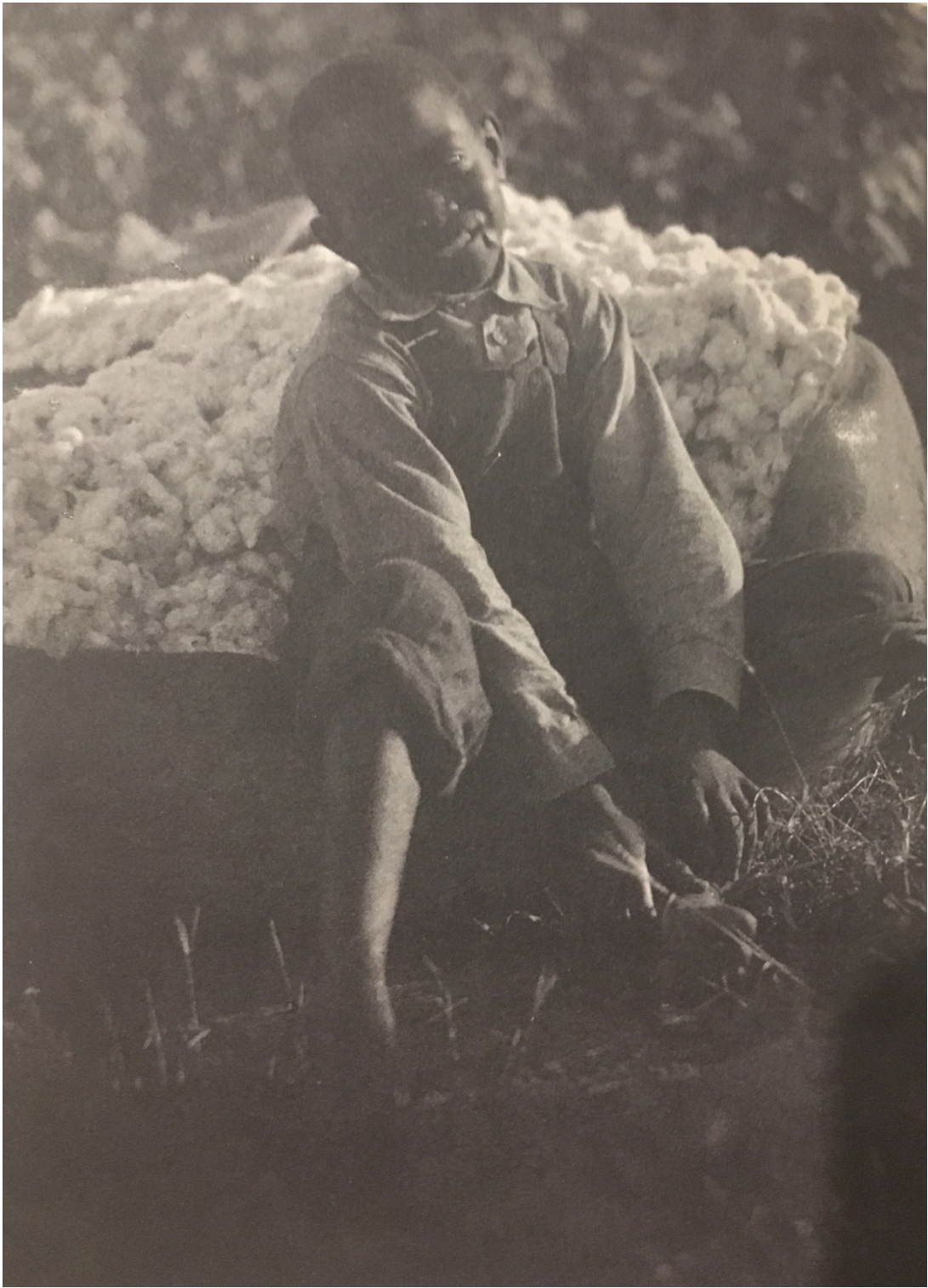


Figure I

probably twice his size and more than twice his weight. He sits, head cocked to the side and smiling, his youth and innocence contrasted by the knowledge of the labor-intensive job of picking the crop. This picture emphasizes how intrinsic cotton picking is to Southern African Americans by illustrating the youth's proficiency in the labor-intensive task.

The idea of cotton picking being central to the Southern African American life is evident throughout chapter XIX of *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. Peterkin describes the cotton-picking season as being a time "every woman and child in the land looks forward to" and when "friends and relatives come from town to join the crowds of pickers who go to the cotton fields" (Peterkin 234). This oddly lighthearted narrative is accompanied by three photographs that contradict the upbeat tone by depicting the incredibly large amount of cotton harvested and thus emphasizing the strenuous task. The final photograph in the chapter emphasizes the significant amount of cotton the Gullah people picked. This photo shows a large wagon filled to the brim and on the brink of overflowing with cotton. To the right of the wagon, two more horses stand, suggesting the presence of yet another wagon filled with the cash crop.

Cotton picking is not the only stereotyped Southern image Ulmann used to illustrate *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. Chapter IX includes three photos that depict a chain-gang at labor. Each of the photos shows a large group of black men, all dressed in matching striped jumpsuits and hats, working with shovels to dig a ditch. The first two photos show the men in an unorganized group working on the ditch, while the third photo offers a different, more poignant perspective. In this picture, the perspective is taken not from the side, but from the front, showing the men in a straight line working from within the ditch.

Each man's head is facing down, focused on his work and avoiding the new figure present in the photo, the white overseer. The presence of the overseer and his gun enforces the idea of forced labor and reminds the viewer of the power dynamic between races in the South.

In this way, Ulmann's photographs serve to perpetuate and affirm stereotypical ideas and visual legacies of the plantation South. She does not know the Gullah people, and so can only view them through the lens and perspective of an outsider, focusing on their role within Southern agriculture and emphasizing images reminiscent of plantation life. Consequently, Ulmann's photographs build upon stereotypes and perpetuate a misunderstanding of the remote community.

Ulmann's traveling to create anthropological and ethnographic photographs establishes an entirely different relationship between her and "place." She is neither from the communities she travels to nor does she have any familial or emotional ties. Rather, she relies on her connections to either be invited or gain access to such remote communities. John Niles's role as Ulmann's assistant was not only to carry her equipment; being a Kentucky native and growing up in the Ohio River Valley, he also provided Ulmann with contacts and access to the Appalachian communities in Kentucky (Featherstone 35). Just as Niles provided Ulmann with access to the remote Appalachian communities, so it is through her friend Julia Peterkin that Ulmann obtained access to the Gullah community of South Carolina. Ulmann met Julia Peterkin in 1929 and the two struck up an immediate friendship. Peterkin invited Ulmann to her plantation in Forte Motte, South Carolina to photograph the Gullah people that lived and worked on the plantation, and Ulmann eagerly accepted the opportunity to document another

“vanishing” type (Featherstone 42). This quest to preserve a type adds a temporal dimension to Ulmann’s perpetuation of established stereotypes. In photographing the Gullah community because it is in the process of vanishing, Ulmann makes the community that is slipping into the past perpetually present as a stereotype.

It is through Peterkin that Ulmann visited and photographed much of the South. During one of her trips to Lang Syne, Peterkin took Ulmann on a trip to New Orleans where she befriended Louisiana writer Lyle Saxon. In New Orleans, Saxon provided access to the people Ulmann wished to photograph, such as members of the Catholic Ursuline Convent of the Sacred Heart and members of the Sisters of the Holy Family, an African American order (Jacobs 89). Ultimately, as an outsider to the South, Ulmann relied on others to provide access to the Southern communities she wished to document; she had no ties to the people, communities, or regions outside of the connections she had made in the artistic and literary worlds.

In contrast to Ulmann’s role as a Northerner interloping in Southern communities, Welty’s relationship with the South is that of a native. Born and raised in Mississippi, the intricacies, idiosyncrasies, and complexities of the South were part of Welty’s experience. In her photographs, Welty depicted the roles of race, gender, and socio-economics that she observed in her daily surroundings and environment. She disliked Doris Ulmann’s photographs of African Americans in South Carolina, calling them “romanticized, condescending, and worst, staged” (McHaney 58). She felt that as a Southerner, she could better portray a truthful depiction of the African American culture and heritage.

First, it is important to note that while Welty was an insider to the customs and culture of the South, she was not blind, immune, or desensitized by her familiarity with the culture around her. Her views and perspectives of the South were not insular. She had had experiences and exposure to other places and cultures. She had lived in New York City while attending Columbia and while there took advantage of the music, art, nightlife, and diverse culture that New York City offered. Welty returned to Jackson a woman of culture and experience. Her photographs were not taken with eyes ignorant of a different world; they were eyes of experience and exposure that understood the culture and context they were viewing. Her time in New York allowed her to return with fresh eyes that noticed details that previously had been too routine to notice, and she was able to see, photograph, and call attention to “what has been there all the time, waiting to be seen” (McHaney 84). She does so with her “snapshots” and casual encounters with her subjects.

Welty’s familiarity with the people and customs of the South enabled her to depict an inside perspective of the typical Southern life. She turned her camera upon people living ordinary lives and documented them performing their typical, daily chores, errands, and duties. For example, her photograph, “In the bag/Canton” shows a woman with a brown paper bag in hand standing in front of a meat market, indicating that she has just been grocery shopping. Her photographs provide, as Deborah Willis states, “insight into the lives of her subject. Welty’s ideas and representations of beauty found in everyday life, particularly within the African American culture...capture a wide range of experiences of race and class attitudes, gender roles, and aesthetics” (McHaney 11). In capturing the routine events and interactions of her subjects, Welty attempts to represent the different communities and people of the South as an alternative to an established

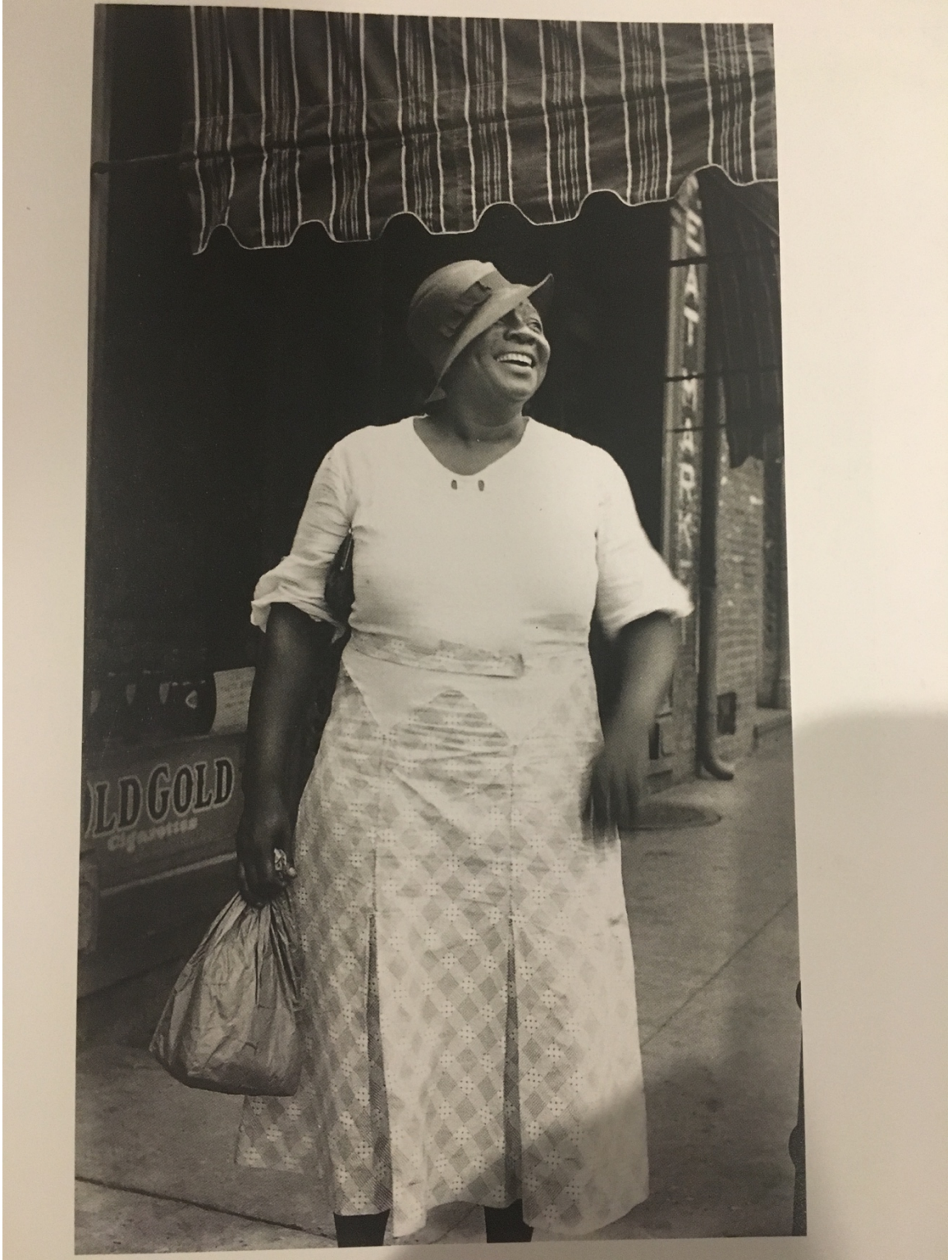


Figure II

Southern iconography. *One Time, One Place* does not emphasize the cotton culture in the South, but instead depicts African Americans in a city setting and conversing with one another, as in “Strollers/Grenada.”

Being from the South, Welty could easily navigate the territory, people, and customs. She was able to capture photos of people in their natural, un-posed states because her unimposing demeanor and her knowledge of southern conduct allowed her to blend into the setting and go unnoticed. She was able “to move through the scene openly and yet invisibly because [she] was a part of it, born into it, taken for granted” (McHaney 68). It was because she could move “invisibly”, blending into the background, that Welty could capture her candid photographs without her subjects’ realization. The use of the word “invisible” here is interesting. It is being used to describe Welty as a photographer, yet it also applies to her photographic subjects. As previously mentioned, the role of the negative space of invisibility is intrinsic to the Southern African American discourse. Though images of African Americans were abundant, the black body remained invisible and unseen. For example, images that “compulsively document the black body working” accompanied the “persistent phenomenon of worker invisibility” (Pollack 80). Therefore, the use of the word “invisible” to describe Welty prompts the question of who, Welty or her subjects, truly moved invisibly in the South.

Welty’s photographs offer perspectives often overlooked by an outsider. The South suffered greatly during the Great Depression and poverty struck the rural and agricultural economies hard. Being from the South, Welty was accustomed to seeing poverty. As Welty stated, “Poverty in Mississippi, white and black, really didn’t have too much to do with the Depression,” but rather “it was ongoing” (Pollack 86). While outside

photographers for the FSA focused upon the destitution, Welty saw through the poverty to document other qualities emanating in the people and towns. She showed faces and laughter, as seen in her photograph, “In the bag/Canton.” The focus of this picture is the woman’s large, radiant smile. Though she is running errands and performing menial duties, the woman radiates joy, laughter, and warmth (*One Time, One Place* 63). Welty used her camera so that the “humanity in the faces and families eclipses the poverty that another’s agenda might have highlighted” (McHaney 73).

During the 1930’s, African American life and experience was not often a topic of interest to the general public (Atkins-Sayre 81). Welty, however, turned her “tyrannous eye” upon blacks as her subjects. When pondering what it was that prompted Welty to turn her eye and camera upon the typically invisible people, the primary responses are that she had taken an interest in her home state and its demographics, that she was comfortable photographing them and asking for their permission, and that she was curious about the circumstances of their lives (Atkins-Sayre 81). Welty used her camera to document her surroundings and because African Americans constituted a large percentage of Southern demographics, and because they likely felt uncomfortable refusing the request of a white woman, they became the subjects of her photographic eye.

Ultimately, Welty and Ulmann’s different relations with the South impacted their perceptions, observations, and representations of the people, lives, and interactions they saw. Being from the South enabled Welty to provide an insider’s perspective of the region, depicting images of common-place, everyday interactions and faces that could have otherwise been overlooked by an outsider. This relationship contrasts that of Ulmann, who entered and documented the South as an outsider. Ulmann did not move

about the South casually, but instead depended on others to allow her access to the people and places of interest. As an outsider, she was inclined to type casting the complex relationships and interactions between different genders, races, and classes. Her images are romantic and nostalgic of the plantation South and ultimately, she depicts the racial images of the South that an outsider expected to see.

III. The Body and the Gaze: Power in Representation

Since its beginning, photography has been associated with power. The relationship between the two began during the early years of photography when only the powerful and wealthy could afford cameras. Since the advancement of photographic technology, cameras have become vastly accessible to the general public. Yet the act of photographing another still exerts the original power-dynamic: the photographer exerts a power over the photographed. This dynamic exists because taking a photograph is to “appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge- and therefore, like power” (Sontag 4). The photographer’s power lies in his ability to dictate how the subject appears. The photographer has the authority to choreograph the subject, dictate the angle and frame of the photo, and manipulate the photo using cropping, exposure, and different finishing techniques. As Susan Sontag asserts, “in deciding how a picture should look...photographers are always imposing standards on their subject” (Sontag 6). While photography does capture reality, it is biased through the photographer’s eyes. The photographer controls what is documented and how it is represented, and “this very passivity- and ubiquity- of the photographic record is a photograph’s ‘message’, it’s aggression” (Sontag 7).

Taking a photograph of someone is aggressive because “it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed” (Sontag 14). Though cameras are more

accessible now than in their early beginnings, the dynamic of the powerful photographing the powerless remains. For example,

In the history of the photographing of the black subject - which is largely based on what I call 'forced photographic submission' ...the photographer's assertion of power over the person is clear, and the subject's participation in the image-making could not be escaped (Pollack 92).

Photography often documents other people's pain, suffering, and misfortune (Sontag 12).

As African Americans have historically been powerless against their oppressors, they have been powerless to refuse the gaze of the photographer and the flash of the camera. This complicates previously asserted dynamics between Welty as a photographer and her subjects. Though Welty framed her interactions with African American subjects as being non-imposing, according to the idea of "forced photographic submission," the very act of photographing her subjects was an imposition of power. The following discussion of power, race, and photography complicates previous assertions, and in doing so, highlights the complexity intrinsic to the relationship between photographer, subject, power, and race.

As both Ulmann and Welty were white women photographing African Americans in the South during the 1930s, they were in positions of power and privilege. Their race, gender, and class distinguished them as having a position of power so that their subjects could not help but oblige, and it is unlikely that their black subjects would have been comfortable or bold enough to refuse the requests of the white women. Having established this structural relationship between power, race, and photography, this next section will address how this structural relationship plays into the individual power differentials within Ulmann and Welty's photography. While both women are in the position of power, Ulmann's esteem sets her farther apart from her subjects than Welty.

As an older, more prestigious, and wealthier woman, Ulmann conveys a stronger sense of power and superiority over her subjects than Welty does, and this difference plays an important role in identifying the differentiating qualities between their photographs.

To begin with, Ulmann's position as an older woman demanded more societal respect. Ulmann first traveled to South Carolina to photograph the Gullah people in 1929 at the age of forty-seven. Welty was only around twenty-six years old when she traveled throughout Mississippi taking pictures in 1935. More than twenty years Welty's senior, Ulmann would have carried herself with a dignity that comes with age and experience. Her status as an esteemed photographer and friend of the plantation owner would have commanded more respect from her photographic subjects. On the other hand, Welty's young age did not command any extra respect. Instead, her youth made her presence less imposing and therefore helped endear her to her subjects in their chance encounters.

Ulmann's age is not the only factor that contributed to her aura of prestige and importance. By the time she was traveling to South Carolina to photograph the Gullahs, she was already a successful, renowned photographer. She was an early member of the Pictorial Photographers of America, had given lectures at the Clarence H. White School of Photography, had several photographs selected for national exhibitions, and successfully produced her first photographically illustrated text, *The Faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University in the City of New York: Twenty-Four Portraits* (Jacobs 33). Ulmann had obtained a position of esteem and she would have presented herself in a manner that demanded respect.

Born into a position of affluence in society, Ulmann never wanted for money or experienced financial strife. In fact, so comfortable was her financial state that she did not

charge for her portraits. Her photography functioned as a means for her to meet interesting people rather than as financial income (Featherstone 22). A woman of affluence and financial means, Ulmann carried herself with the refined manners and elegant airs of a woman of society (Jacobs xv).

Ulmann's wealth allowed her to photograph exactly what she wanted when she wanted. She could afford the largest, most expensive equipment, she could afford to travel long distances to photograph subjects that interested her, and she could afford to have an assistant help her along the way. Ulmann's arrival to a small, rural community was not discreet. She drove her own Lincoln while having another car filled with expensive tools and equipment accompany her (Featherstone 36). This affluence played strongly into the power dynamic between Ulmann and her subjects. The communities Ulmann visited were rural and typically impoverished. Her appearance of grandeur - the nice cars, elaborate equipment, and elegant clothes - immediately alienated her from her subjects. Being a wealthy, sophisticated, educated, and successful white woman elevated her to a status of power and prominence that demanded respect. Thus, her subjects were comparatively powerless as she choreographed the photographs, manipulating their positions and appearances to please her photographic aesthetic.

As a white woman, Welty too was in the position of power in relation to her subjects. However, her younger age, modest demeanor, and lack of professional esteem placed her in a less imposing position and she required less recognition and respect. In contrast to Ulmann's professional success and acclaim, Welty was not a famous photographer. In fact, she was not even a professional. Though she sought tirelessly to get her photographs published, she was time and again rejected. In the spring of 1935

Welty's collection was rejected by Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, Inc., because as Smith explained in a letter, "The photographs are excellent, and together, present an engaging picture. But in view of Julia Peterkin's book last year, and the general unwillingness of the public to buy many books at all, we feel too doubtful about a sale" (McHaney 61). Welty experienced similar rejection when she submitted a collection of photographs and stories titled "Black Saturday" that was rejected by Harold Strauss of Covici-Friede in New York in November 1937, who stated that the "book of stories and photos... wouldn't sell" and that "their architecture is 'at war with the content'" (McHaney 77). These rejections would have caused Welty to be less confident and assertive in her photographic endeavors than Ulmann.

Just as Welty lacked Ulmann's professional reputation, so she lacked her prestigious, aristocratic mannerisms and presence. Welty had a modest background. She was born in Jackson, Mississippi where her father worked for the Lamar Life Insurance Company as the cashier before working his way up (Marrs 1). She had a comfortable childhood and was able to attend college, but after the death of her father, it became necessary that she find a job. In order to make ends meet, Welty simultaneously worked several part-time jobs. She worked at a radio station, wrote for the *Jackson State Tribune* and the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, substituted for teachers, and took pictures for the Jackson Junior Auxiliary (Marrs 42). In 1936, she was happy to receive a job working for the Works Progress Administration. Like most Americans in the 1930s, Welty's financial status was not one of opulence and she worked to make ends meet.

Welty's modest mannerisms, clothing, and demeanor conveyed a financial modesty. Rather than arriving in a convoy of cars and equipment, Welty typically

traveled Mississippi by bus or train (Pollack 72). Her equipment was just as un-intrusive and unassuming as she was; she used a hand-held camera that could be discreetly carried. The ability of the hand-held camera to quickly document the photographer's environment illustrated the relationship between the photographer and the surrounding world (McHaney 56).

The differences in Welty's and Ulmann's backgrounds, financial and profession status, and overall demeanor result in entirely different photographic approaches and relationships to their subjects. Ulmann embarked on her mission to document the Gullah people with a confidence in herself and her photography. An experienced photographer, she knew what she wanted and how to accomplish her photographic goal. Ulmann's formal, sophisticated demeanor resulted in a more formal photographic approach and relationship between her and her subjects. When photographing the Gullah people, they recognized her position as a white friend of the plantation owner. Consequently, her position of power subjected the Gullah people to cooperate and respect her wishes as they posed for her photographs and cooperated with her choreographing and positioning of their body. In exerting her power, Ulmann completely controlled the ultimate photographic representation.

By contrast, Welty was a shy and un-intrusive woman, and as she was not a successful, renowned, or even professional photographer, she lacked the confidence that Ulmann exuded. For Welty, the camera was her "shy person's protection," acting to "both protect and reveal" (Pollack 72). Her timid and modest disposition influenced Welty's unpretentious, and unobtrusive approach to her subjects. Many of her photographs are taken without the subject's knowledge, but for those photographs in

which the subject is aware, Welty sought permission, asking, “Do you mind if I take this picture?” (McHaney 66). Welty viewed her subjects with consideration. She explained that her photographs were not taken “to exploit” but rather “to reveal” her subjects and “the situation in which I found them” (Pollack 98).

When asked how a white woman was received by the black communities, Welty’s response was, “Politely. And I was polite. It was before self-consciousness had come into the relationship or suspicion” (Pollack 97). It was very likely though, that Welty’s welcome into the black communities and her ability to photograph the people there was in part due to the fact that she was a woman. It would have been far less imposing for Welty to have entered and taken photographs of the African American community than it would have been for a white male (Millichap 36). Additionally, the numerous photos of African American women can also be attributed to Welty being female; she would have felt more comfortable taking pictures of women, black or white, than taking photos of men (Millichap 36).

Welty’s whiteness made it highly unlikely that her African American subjects would refuse her request. However, in her polite approach, Welty’s requests were not demanding. Welty stated that she never met a “demurrer stronger than amusement,” and some of her subjects had never had a photograph taken before (Marrs 43, Pollack 92).

Welty elaborated on her approach, explaining,

I would go to the poorest part of the state, in the depths of the Depression, and I would say to people, a lot of them black, ‘Do you mind if I take a picture?’ and some of them would say, ‘Never had a picture taken in my life’ And I’d say, ‘Just stay the way you are.’ They’d be in some wonderful pose, a woman on a porch, leaning forward from the hips, like this, her elbows on here and her hands crossed, with this wonderful curve of buttocks and legs, bare-foot on the porch. Beautiful woman. I would say, ‘Do you mind if I take your picture like that?’ ‘No,’ she’d say, ‘if that’s what you want to do. I don’t care!’ (Pollack 93)

Welty's polite, unpretentious demeanor prompted her subjects to allow Welty a glimpse into their world, and her unimposing approach is suggestive of the subject's collaboration, creating "a fleeting, but felt, intimacy here between subject and photographer" (Pollack 92).

The different power-dynamics between the photographer and subject in Welty and Ulmann's photographs result in different relationships with and consequently different representations of the subjects. Welty's "gift of making people unself-conscious" helped to endear her to her black subjects and gain an access to their lives (Atkins, Sayre 82). This comfortable, unthreatening access created a sense of intimacy between Welty and her subjects that allowed her to capture their natural expressions, relationships, and lives, and thus depict African Americans in a progressively respectful and empowering way. Contrasting this relationship, Ulmann's status as a wealthy, powerful white woman excluded her from the personal lives of her African American subjects, and thus her photographs reiterate stereotypical images.

Welty's photographs "portray a unique image of the African American female experience in the Depression-era South" (Atkins-Sayre 78). Providing images of modern African American women in their day-to-day lives, Welty contrasted popular tropes and stereotypes of the period. As Hines stated,

We all know too well what this society believes Black women look like. The stereotypes abound, from the Mammy to the maid, from the tragic mulatto to the dark temptress... what we have not seen nearly enough is the simple truth of our complex and multidimensional lives (Atkins-Sayre 78).

Welty's photos work to depict their "multidimensional lives" and "correct a set of clichéd racial images that were culturally familiar and prejudicial" (Pollack 98). Her photographs

instead depict African American women in their natural environments performing normal roles in society, and in doing so, undermine stereotypical understanding of African American lives in the South, which in turn empowers the African American women (Atkins-Sayre 78).

Harriet Pollack argues that the attention Welty called to the body of the African American woman was different from the “grammar of racial images” established through historical representation and depiction of black female bodies (Pollack 76). Early examples of photographing the black body began in France and were used in pseudoscientific representations of “ethnographic aesthetics” used to classify and distinguish racial types (Pollack 76). These ethnographic nudes exposing the black body culminated in the display of a South African woman’s naked body throughout Europe for an admission fee. The display’s intent was to “demonstrate an asserted sexual difference in the shape of her buttocks and to illustrate the related sexual theory associated with her” (Pollack 76). This instance initiated a photographic trend of exposing the black female body and emphasizing race and desire (Pollack 77). The other dominate representation of the black body during this period was the black female nude in contrast to the white female nude. In these representations, the black body is used as a marker to emphasize the woman’s whiteness and revealed sexuality (Pollack 77).

The representation of black women in America was less focused on ethnographic exposures and sexuality and focused more on the African American woman’s labor. The women were typically depicted as performing agricultural labor or the duties of a maid or servant. Images of field laborers depicted black bodies anonymously toiling to reap the promise of the land. Their cotton bags appear as “extensions of the laboring black body”

and “the individuality of bodies of different ages and genders are subordinated to and largely erased by the dominate task at hand: bending, picking hauling, turning nature into commodity” (Pollack 82).

Paradoxically, rather than drawing attention to the black body, the “phenomenon of worker invisibility” persisted (Pollack 80). The cultural insistence on overlooking the black body is evident in the documentation of FSA photographers during the Great Depression. Between 1935 and 1942, FSA photographers captured more than 220,000 images of poverty and destitution (Pollack 80). The goal of the FSA photography was to “generate knowledge of social ills and solutions, and to communicate those images not dispassionately but with affecting sentiment that could fuel social progress (Pollack 81). However, these photographs largely ignore the plight of black Americans. Roy Striker, director of the photographers, wanted his photographs to be compliant with the demands of the media, and so emphasized that his photographers deemphasize the plight of black lives and instead “put emphasis on the white tenants, since we know that those images will receive much wider use” (Pollack 83).

I agree with Pollack that Welty offered a new, more progressive representation of the black body. She was not interested in showing the expected scenes of labor, nor depicting the desperate poverty images so prevalent during the 1930s. Instead, what she sought and documented was the story of the body of “the other woman” (Pollack 87). What captures Welty’s eye “is not the Depression, not the Black, not the South, not even the perennially sorry state of the whole world, but the story of...life in [a] face” (Welty *One Time* 11).

In transcending stereotypical cultural images, Welty reveals other ways to interpret African American women. As opposed to showing women laboring, her photographs often show them escaping from labor in moments of relaxation, imagination, or pleasure. In her photographs of women enjoying themselves away from work, “their pleasure is a site of resistance, an escape from discipline,” because when Welty captured

women spending time with their girlfriends at church socials, going to the fair, and doing hair on their front and side porches... her photographs of women laughing and window shopping depict the freedom these [black] women found after a days’ work... These women she photographed were not bound to traditional roles found in the American imaginary (Pollack 88).

Welty’s photograph “The Rides, State Fair/ Jackson” depicts African American women unbound by racial roles: three women, well-dressed in pretty, patterned dresses and earrings stand looking at the Mississippi State Fair. By focusing on the three women whose arms are linked together and by making the men in the back slightly blurry, the picture illustrates the friendship and female solidarity between the African American women. The large “Royal American” Ferris wheel is a significant background, emphasizing the women’s access to amusement, entertainment, and free time, while the word “American” looming over the women reminds the viewer that these women are not just black citizens, but also American citizens (Welty *One Time* 81). This photograph is an important depiction of African American women because it illustrates the inclusion of black women enjoying leisure time in an American scene.

In a unique approach to the African American woman, Welty’s photographs illustrate the personalities, spirits, and imagination of black women. Her photographs that capture the imaginative play of women are entirely different from condescending racial depictions. Instead, the black body is shown in a spirited, playful manner. This is



Figure III

seen in her photo “Bird Pageant,” taken when Welty had stumbled upon the pageant to find women wearing bird costumes made of bright tissue paper and was invited to attend the pageant (Pollack 96). By documenting the women “in the act of taking joy in being pleasure for one another” Welty provides insight into the imaginative and inventive black woman (Pollack 96).

In yet another progressive and empowering representation, Welty shows the self-made African American body. The photo “Nurse at Home” shows the woman in her uniform with the sign in the back reaffirming her professionalism (Pollack 93). Similarly, “School Teacher on a Friday Afternoon” shows the professional woman, well-dressed and commanding respect and attention, enjoying the beginning of her weekend. Welty most directly emphasizes the self-invention and resourcefulness of the black woman in her series of photos of Ida M’Toy. M’Toy had been a midwife for thirty-five years and in her narrative sketch about M’toy, Welty wrote

[I]f there had never been any midwives in the world Ida would have invented midwifery, so ingenious and delicate-handed and wise she is, and sure of her natural right to take charge. She loves transformations and bringing things about; she simply cannot resist it... (Pollack 94).

M’Toy was renowned for her skill as a midwife and delivered the babies of blacks and whites. However, after thirty-five years as a midwife, M’Toy reinvented herself, transitioning “between delivering the child and clothing the man” and opened a prosperous second-hand clothing store (Pollack 94). In depicting African American women as self-made and inventive individuals, Welty’s photographs possess a “subtle resistance to racial degradation,” a depiction different from the typical representation of labor and toil (Pollack 94).

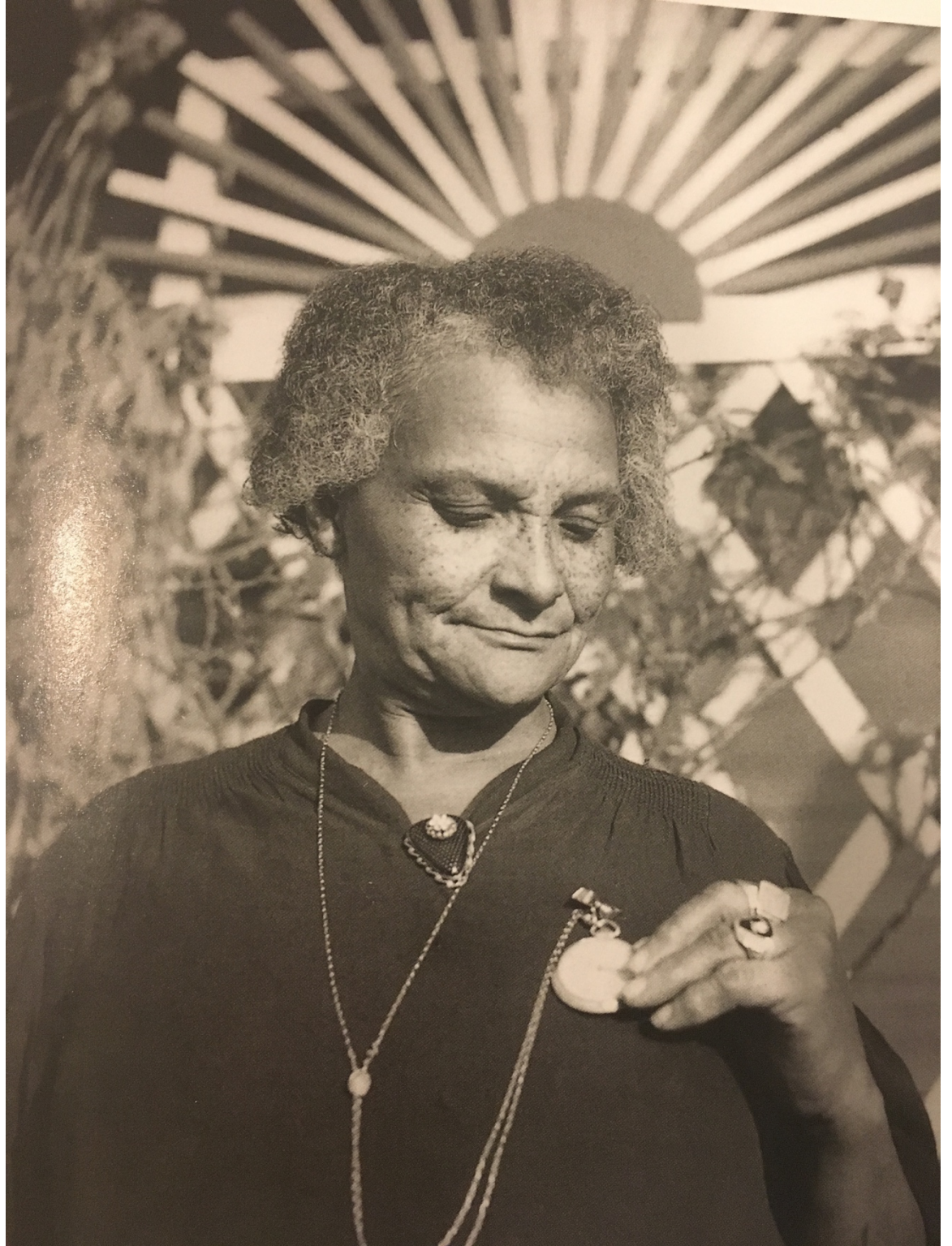


Figure IV

In contrast to Welty's progressive representation of African American life in the South, Ulmann's photographs perform the opposite function, representing African Americans through cliché images and reinforcing racial stereotypes. Instead of depicting African Americans living modern lives, Ulmann's images depict African Americans in stereotypical roles of agricultural laborers, maids, and servants. In fact, the second and third photos featured in *Roll, Jordan, Roll* are of women performing the chores of house maids and servants. The first depicts a black woman wearing a white apron and dark headwrap as she is in the process of ironing a large white cloth. Her apron, headwrap, and iron in hand reiterate the image of the black maid. This stereotypical depiction is reinforced on the next page with a picture depicting not one, but three African American kitchen-maids. Only one of the girls' faces is discernable; the others are hidden in the shadows. Their darkened faces emphasize their blackness and further contrast their white hats and collars. Though they do not wear aprons, the women wear matching neutral uniforms with white caps and collars. These uniforms diminish the women's individualism and reinforce their identities as being that of the stereotypical household servant.

Ulmann does not only reinforce the racial stereotypes of black household maids and servants, but her photographs also affirm and enforce the image of the black agricultural laborer. This image is introduced and supported early in *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, with an image of black laborers, both men and women, bent over in an agriculture field. Though the crop is not discernable from the picture, the bent positions, spade-like tools,

and baskets at their side indicate that the men and women are picking and harvesting a crop. The archetype of the black woman laboring in the field is reinforced by Ulmann's image on page ninety-four of *Roll, Jordan, Roll* illustrating a woman plowing an agricultural field with an ox. The image contradicts any idea of progression for African American life; the woman, in her headwrap and worn dress behind the plow, reinforces the image of the black laborer and the wooden plow pulled by an ox blatantly opposes the modernization and industrialization that was being incorporated into agriculture. Instead of representing the self-made African American woman as Welty does, Ulmann perpetuates the image of the black body serving and laboring for another.

Another particularly progressive and empowering aspect of Welty's photography is the return of her subject's gaze. As mentioned earlier, being able to freely gaze upon another creates a sense of control and power. Returning a gaze is a challenge to the authority and the power being exerted by the powerful. This power dynamic applied to race in the South during the 1930s. Codes of conduct prevented African Americans from looking directly into the eyes of a white man or woman (Atkins-Sayre 84). In many of Welty's photographs, however, her gaze is returned. Several of Welty's pictures show her African American subjects looking directly into the camera. This results in a photograph in which the subject appears to be looking directly at the viewer (Atkins-Sayre 84).

There are many examples of Welty's subjects returning her gaze. In "Saturday Off," the woman casually leans against a pillar and her body is facing away from Welty. Her face, however, is turned so that she looks directly at Welty and her camera. The casual stance, in combination with the returned gaze, empowers the woman; she did not deter her gaze, nor did she reposition herself to a more formal position.



Figure V

Another empowering return of the gaze is seen in “Making a Date/Grenada”. In this photograph, Welty appears unnoticed by the man. It is only the woman who stares directly into the camera lens, acknowledging Welty’s gaze and returning it with her own. Her “challenging glance...meeting the eye of the camera and now our observing eye, is full of provocation, and a considering judgment that assesses how she is being seen, by whom, and why” (Pollack 86). She acknowledges that she has been seen and observed, but her returned gaze establishes the fact that she too can see and observe.

The woman in “A Woman of the thirties” offers an even more poignant defiance in her gaze. The hardships of life are evident in all aspects of the woman’s appearance. She is older, her jacket is worn with holes and a missing button, and her skin and hands are worn with labor. Yet she stands straight, head held high and stares confidently and directly into the camera (Atkins-Sayre 85). In returning Welty’s gaze, these women display a sense of confidence and pride; they will not avert their eyes from Welty or her camera. Their returned gaze “allowed for an important symbolic breaking down of segregation barriers,” not only by empowering the African American women but also in that white viewers are “challenged to meet those eyes and accept the reality that faced them” (Atkins-Sayre 91).

In contrast to Welty depicting empowered African American women by capturing the returned gaze, Ulmann’s photographic subjects typically do not look directly at the camera. Instead, their eyes are either hidden by shadows or are looking away from the camera. This averted gaze is introduced immediately in Ulmann’s second photograph in *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, the image of the woman ironing. In this photo, the woman’s face is not cast down upon the ironing but is elevated and facing the camera. However, she is not



Figure VI

looking into the camera lens. Instead, her gaze is focused just above the camera so that she is neither returning the camera's nor the viewer's gaze.

The averted gaze is recurrent throughout many of Ulmann's photographs of women. Page one hundred and one of *Roll, Jordan, Roll* shows a woman sitting outside a wooden cabin. As opposed to the woman ironing, this woman's entire face is cast downward, away from the gaze of the camera. Here, rather than being empowered by the ability to return the gaze, the woman's downcast eyes and face, almost grimacing, appear to be the victim of the camera's gaze. Pages one hundred sixty-nine and one hundred seventy depict two pictures of the same woman. Interestingly, the woman's eyes are averted to the right in both photographs. Both images depict the woman's sly smirk suggestive of a humorous and pleasant disposition, yet in both photos, she avoids returning the gaze of the camera. The photograph on page one hundred seventy is reminiscent of the woman ironing; the woman's gaze is not blatantly averted from the camera lens, but rather her eyes focus just beside the lens.

Ulmann's photography was not candid. Her equipment was cumbersome and her portrait process meticulously detailed. The women's averted gazes cannot be attributed to their not noticing Ulmann or her camera, as is possible for Welty. Therefore, it was a conscious pose on either Ulmann or her subject's part. Either way, the averted gaze was an exercise of subjugation; if the averted gaze was the result of Ulmann's choreographing, the result is a document of the Gullah people obeying Ulmann's request. If the averted gaze is an act of the Gullah subject, it is a documentation of the black individual feeling uncomfortable about returning the white gaze.

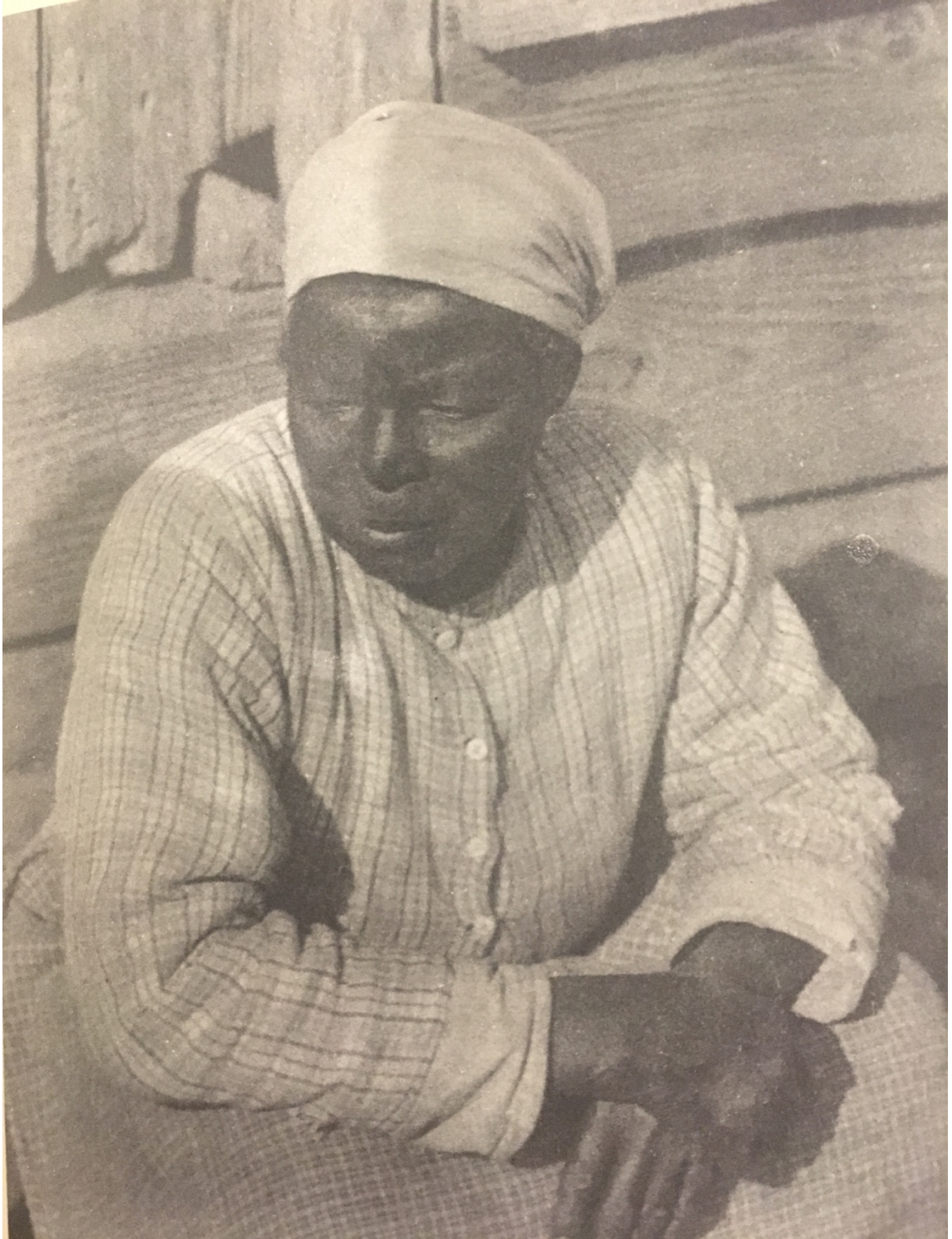


Figure VII

Welty's photographs are of great importance to the history of the South in their recognition and progressive representation of African American women. By representing African Americans as multidimensional people, Welty's photography provides insight into the "public memory of the South and African American women's experiences, in particular" (Atkins-Sayre 78). Her photos recognize blacks as humans and display a sense of empathy previously unseen in the South. She created representations of black women that were not condescending and did not play upon common tropes and stereotypes but instead were progressive and empowering. In doing so, her photographs "alter memories of the segregated south by allowing contemporary audiences to gaze upon the Depression-era African American experience" (Atkins-Sayre 78). Because "visual rhetoric can be more powerful than discursive appeal," Welty's powerful photographs that depict empowered black women have influenced the perception of African American women in the South and work to counteract previously established stereotypes (Atkins-Sayre 78).

IV: Relationships with Literature: Photography within a Text

When analyzing the relationship between Welty and Ulmann's photographs, it is important to note their literary associations. Welty began as an amateur photographer and grew into a famous and successful author. Her emphasis on photography waned as she began to focus on her fiction, and ultimately, she put aside her aspirations as a photographer to focus entirely on her writing (McHaney 84). Though she left her photographic career behind, traces of her photographic experiences appear throughout her stories. Ulmann, by contrast, was not an author herself but surrounded herself with literary figures. She invited artists and authors to her home-studio and asked to make their portraits, benefitting from the connections and relationships the portraits initiated (Featherstone 21). Though she never wrote, some of her photographs were published in Julia Peterkin's book, *Roll, Jordan, Roll* in 1933.

Welty transitioned from photography to writing because she felt she could better portray people through her fiction stories than through her photographs. As an author, Welty was able to express thoughts, ideas, and conversations that cannot be explicitly depicted in a photograph. Another photographer-writer, Wright Morris helps to explain Welty's shift between art forms, stating,

I would say that the people who can write, and want to write novels, are offered few choices and have no options. They must become writers. They will bring their camera eye into their books... I use the same eyes to type the pages of my novel and to focus the image on the ground glass (Cole xiii).

Welty expands upon Morris' sentiment in her introduction to *One Time, One Place*, stating "insight doesn't happen often on the click of the moment, like a lucky snapshot, but comes in its own time and more slowly and from nowhere but within" (Welty, *One Time* 12). Welty "saw photographs as hopelessly restricted by their fundamental exteriority and remove from the temporal world" and so turned to fiction as a means of portraying Southern life (Henninger 12).

Though she left photography for writing, Welty's fiction and photography show "how one mode of artistic 'vision' might refract or rehabilitate another" (Cole ix). Qualities and essences that capture her eye also capture her imagination, resulting in correlations between some fictional and photographic subjects. The most direct correlation is between her short story, "A Worn Path" and her photograph, "A woman of the thirties/Hinds County."

"A Worn Path" depicts the quest of Phoenix Jackson, an "old Negro woman" who "must be a hundred years old" and who treks through miles of wilderness to obtain her grandson's medicine. This description of an elderly, impoverished African American woman who "looked straight ahead" and held herself with dignity and pride is reminiscent of Welty's photograph, "A woman of the thirties/Hinds County" (Welty *A Curtain of Green* 142). This photo depicts a Phoenix Jackson-like figure: a lone African American woman stands erect with her head held high, eyes looking straight forward. Her poverty is explicitly expressed in the photo. The jacket is tattered and torn, with small holes throughout the body and a missing button. The buildings in the back are blurred but appear to be dilapidated and run-down. Yet despite her poverty, she remains dignified and proud, staring directly into the camera, neither ashamed nor bashful. Welty



Figure VIII.

asserts that though this woman “had good reason for hopelessness,” she “wasn’t hopeless...She was courageous” (Cole 18). It is this courageousness and determination in the face of poverty that is reminiscent of Phoenix Jackson in “The Worn Path.”

Despite such similarities, Welty asserts that her photography and writing are “two unrelated things,” which “perhaps a kindred impulse made me attempt” (Cole 27). Welty defined this impulse as being “an inquiring nature, and a wish to respond to what I saw, and to what I felt about things, by something I produced or did” (Cole 27). When asked if she relied on her photographs for “a scene or an element in a story,” she replied, “No. The memory is far better” (Cole 27). Therefore, Welty attributes similarities between her photography and fiction to an impulse intrinsic to her nature or to the memories of photographic occasions. This idea of the photographic occasion is important because the “occasion” is only made possible by the action of the camera and photographer, thus associating photography with a dynamic interaction rather than a static image.

This relationship is evident in Welty’s fiction and photography. Her photographic eye helps her to see with a “visualizing mind,” and she uses her skills and attention to detail practiced in photography when writing. A prime example of this is evident in Welty’s inspiration for the story “A Worn Path.” Welty explains that she

saw a solitary old woman like Phoenix [Jackson]. She was walking; I saw her, at middle distance, in a winter country landscape, and watched her slowly make her way across my line of vision. The sight of her made me write a story. I invented an errand for her. I brought her up close enough, by imagination, to describe her face, make her present to the eyes (Cole 43).

In this description, Welty illustrates the “interplay of photographer’s eye and the writers visualizing mind” (Cole 43). When observing the figure in the distance, she allows the figure to move undisturbed across her line of vision, “as if seen in the lens of her hand-

held camera...But it is the whole figure moving slowly across the winter fields, something her snapshots could never capture, that is the indelible image, the one to keep, like a photograph, but not as a photograph (Cole 44). This example of the visualizing mind supports the idea that Welty's stories are not inspired by her photographs, such as "A Woman of the thirties," but instead are inspired by memory.

Though Welty left photography behind as she transitioned to writing, her photographic eye remained with her throughout her stories, as seen as in the "shifting light, inversion, unexpected angles of vision, differences in depth of field, framing, convergence as vanishing point inside or outside the frame, and boundary-crossing" that is present in both her photographs and fiction stories (Cole, x). Such photographic techniques appearing throughout her writing are not the only allusions to Welty's interest in photography. Instead, "Welty's fiction is filled with abundant, suggestive traces of the seemingly abandoned art" (Cole 115). These photographic traces appear discreetly on the thematic level through itinerant photographers and romanticized photographs that play an important role in the plot of her stories. In this way, Welty inserts fictional photography into her fiction writing. Fictional photographs highlight the conflict, the "representational struggle" between image and literature and this struggle is especially resonant in the South, a place with historically turbulent representational struggle (Henninger 13). Since fictional photographs do not exist outside of the printed word, they can "only be seen as acts of representation", and therefore they "are mediations of reality" that "invoke the cultural meanings and functions attached to photography and vision" (Henninger 9, Millichap 38). Whereas actual photographs represent a real, concrete image, fictional

photographs themselves are representational and “epitomize the power of visuality and more specifically, visual traditions” (Henninger 3).

Welty’s incorporation of fictional photography is persistent and prevalent throughout her writing career; it is present in her first collection, *A Curtain of Green* in the story “Why I Live at the P.O.” and persists through her last collection, *The Bride of the Innisfallen* in “Kin.” Fictional photography was not confined to her short stories but also appears in her novel *Delta Wedding*.

The story “Why I Live at the P.O.” tells the story of how the narrator came to quit her family life and move into her town’s tiny post office. The catalyst of the estrangement was the arrival of Mr. Whitaker to the small town, an itinerant photographer who arrived taking ‘Pose Yourself’ pictures and married the narrator’s sister, Stella-Rondo (Millichap 38). Welty’s first full-scale novel, *Delta Wedding*, incorporates an itinerate photographer that arrives to take a wedding picture of the Fairchild family. These themes of itinerant photographers and fictional wedding photographs reappear in Welty’s later story, “Kin,” in which the itinerant photographer Mr. Puryear uses the family parlor as his studio. The reconstructed parlor and studio backdrop appear prepared as if “for a country wedding,” and covers the painting of her great-grandmother, a “romantic figure” depicted in a stereotyped vision of the southern woman (Millichap 38). This incorporation of fictional photography illustrates the relationship between Welty’s photography and her literature; the photography does not inspire the literature, but is a part of it.

The intertextuality of Welty’s work differs from Ulmann’s. Ulmann was attracted to the literary world and collaborated with Julia Peterkin, Pulitzer Prize-winning author

of *Scarlet Sister Mary*. The two immediately developed a close relationship and Peterkin suggested that Ulmann visit her plantation in South Carolina. Peterkin's next project was to be a book based on the lives of the Gullah people who lived and worked on her plantation farm and Peterkin suggested that Ulmann visit and photograph the Gullah people of her stories. The photographs, she suggested, could work as illustrations for the book (Featherstone 42). As this invitation offered Ulmann the opportunity to document another fading American "type," Ulmann eagerly accepted.

Peterkin had been raised in South Carolina and was intimately familiar with the Gullah culture and this knowledge culminated in her literary success. By the time Peterkin embarked on *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, she had already reached literary fame and success with *Green Thursday*, *Black April*, *Scarlet Sister Mary*, and *Bright Skin*. Peterkin began *Roll, Jordan, Roll* with a purpose similar to that of Ulmann; she wished to capture the plantation experience before it completely faded from society. Through telling "explicitly many of her own social and historical views," Peterkin shifted from writing fiction to writing as a social historian who attempted to depict Southern blacks in a different way than the typical stereotypes and slogans (Landess 34, 122). *Roll, Jordan, Roll* is composed of twenty-one sketches, dialogues, and essays that illustrate the important customs, beliefs, and attitudes of the Gullahs while depicting the nature of plantation life, religious beliefs, superstitions, family relations, and agricultural field work (Landess 122).

Ulmann's role in *Roll, Jordan, Roll* was to take photographs of the Gullah people to accompany Peterkin's text. For instance, when Peterkin describes the "church bell which is faithfully rung by a 'lady sexton,'" the accompanying page features one of

Ulmann's photos, a visual representation to accompany the idea of the "lady sexton". The picture depicts an African American woman, middle aged or older, looking up as she pulls on a long rope. Though the end of the rope is not seen, in collaboration with the text, readers can deduce that the rope is attached to a bell and that this woman is the lady sexton. This illustrates a different relationship between text and photography than Welty's fictional photographs. While Welty's fictional photography existed only in text and word, Ulmann's photographs exist alongside text and the narrative provides context for the images.

In the text, Peterkin describes the "mourner's bench," a "bench at the front of the pulpit," where members of the church, "many of whom are little children, pray earnestly to God to forgive their sins and convert their souls" (Peterkin 84). The text is accompanied by a photograph of women and children kneeling at the bench. In front of the kneelers stand two men with their hands held over the mourners' heads in prayer. A woman stands to the side, watching as the children mourn and repent. The action in the photograph perfectly matches the action described by Peterkin.

Yet another religious ceremony described by Peterkin and illustrated by one of Ulmann's photographs is the foot-washing ceremony. Peterkin describes the "Baptist foot-washing Sundays [that] come four times a year" and how the "women quietly take off their hats, replace them with simple, flowing headdresses of white cotton cloth, and put on white foot-washing robes over their dresses" (Peterkin 91). During the process, "tin basins filled with water...are passed around with long, narrow white towels" and each woman "kneels and washes the feet of a sister friend, wipes them with a towel, then

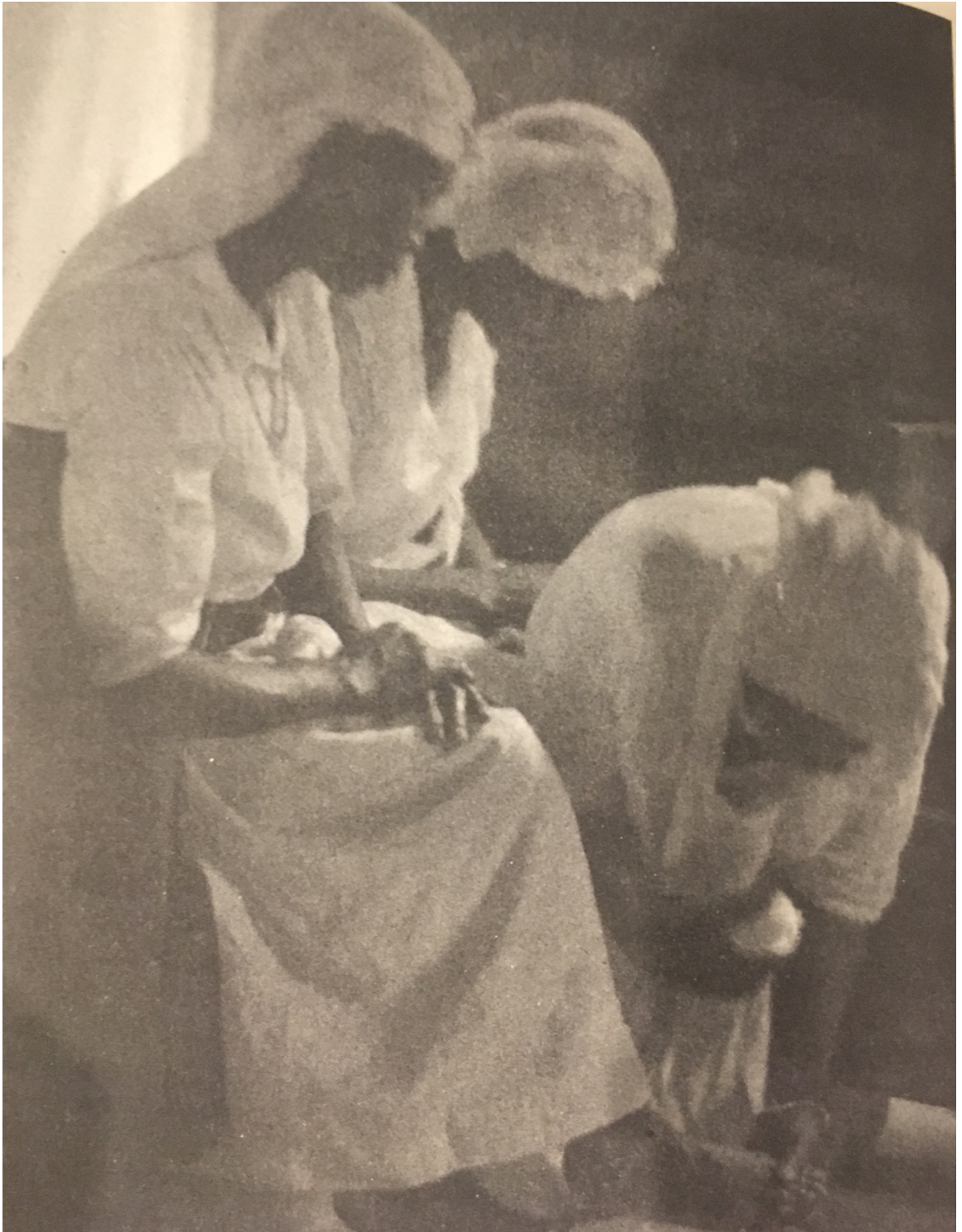


Figure IX

sits down for the friend to wash hers” (Peterkin 91). This excerpt is accompanied by a photograph of the feet-washing ceremony and the picture mimics exactly the imagery illustrated by Peterkin. The photo features three women in white headdresses and long white robes. Two of the women are sitting while one kneels on the ground, washing the foot of one of the sitting women, her hand holding the foot directly above a tin basin (Peterkin 90).

The narrative of the Dreamer provides insight into the Gullah religious culture and has two photographs to compliment the text. One night the Dreamer was awakened by a voice instructing her to take her friend to Rome and tell the Pope he was going to die (Peterkin 109). Because the voice told them “that neither of them must wear dress or shoes on the journey,” they “sewed white sheets” together, making long, white robes (Peterkin 110). This description is accompanied by a picture on the adjacent page: an old African American woman sitting on a porch is dressed in long white robes and a white headwrap. The woman’s skin is dark, blending in with the darkness of the background, and is greatly contrasted by the whiteness of her garments. This picture is immediately followed by another in which the woman is standing, her long white robes hanging loosely. Her body is angled away from the camera, as though she is preparing to embark on her journey and exit the frame at any moment (Peterkin 112).

This is a pattern throughout all of *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. Peterkin’s narratives are accompanied by Ulmann’s photographs of characters, interactions, or events described in the text. It is in this way that Ulmann’s photographs work with literature; her photographs are taken in conjunction with the text to provide visual illustrations of Peterkin’s words.

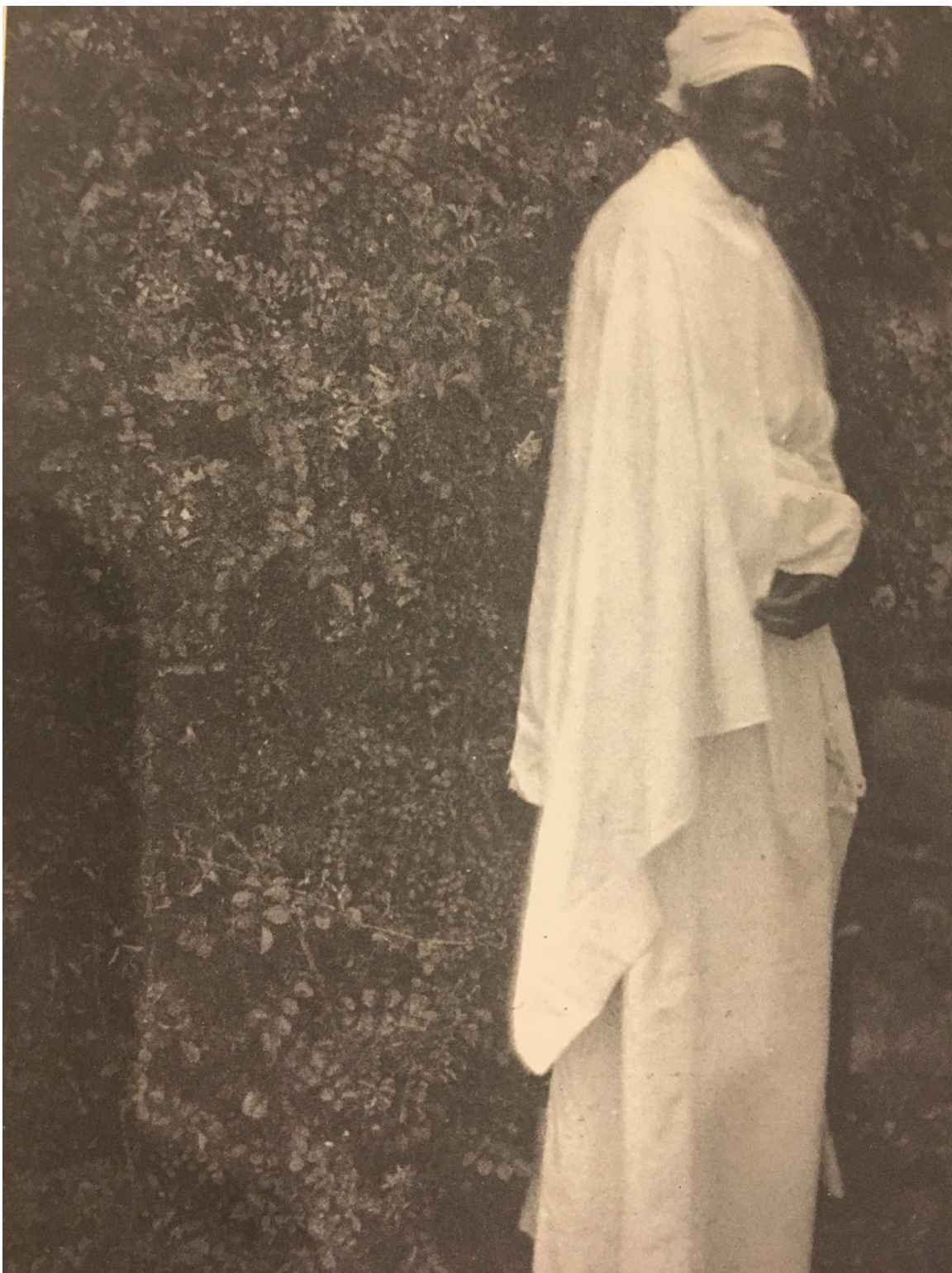


Figure X

To what extent, though, did the collaboration with Peterkin influence Ulmann's photography? In order to better understand the degree to which her collaboration on *Roll, Jordan, Roll* influenced Ulmann's representation of African Americans, *The Darkness and the Light, Photography by Doris Ulmann* can be used for comparison. Observing photographs taken of the Gullah community that are not featured in *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, can help explain whether Ulmann's photographs are the direct result of Peterkin's words or if instead, Ulmann's photographic eye, style, and approach matched perfectly with the aesthetic and agenda of *Roll, Jordan, Roll*.

The photograph on page eighteen of *The Darkness and the Light* shows an older African American woman leaning out of a window. Besides the fact that she is wearing a pearl necklace and her window has frilly curtains, this photograph is very reminiscent of the photograph on page one hundred sixty-nine in *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. Both pictures depict older African American women leaning out of a wooden window while in the midst of household duties. The woman in *Roll, Jordan, Roll* holds a scrubbing brush and is standing behind a bucket on the window-sill. The woman in *The Darkness and the Light* does not have anything in her hands, but she is leaning on what appears to be a pair of tweed trousers that are drying in the window. The similarities between these pictures, one featured in *Roll, Jordan, Roll* and one not, suggest that Ulmann's posing of the woman was not entirely dictated by Peterkin's text, but instead was a choreographed aesthetic choice of her own.

Throughout *Roll, Jordan, Roll* descriptions of Gullah women at work in the plantation community are accompanied by photographs of women cleaning, ironing, and plowing. *The Darkness and the Light*, however, includes a picture of a working woman



Figure XI

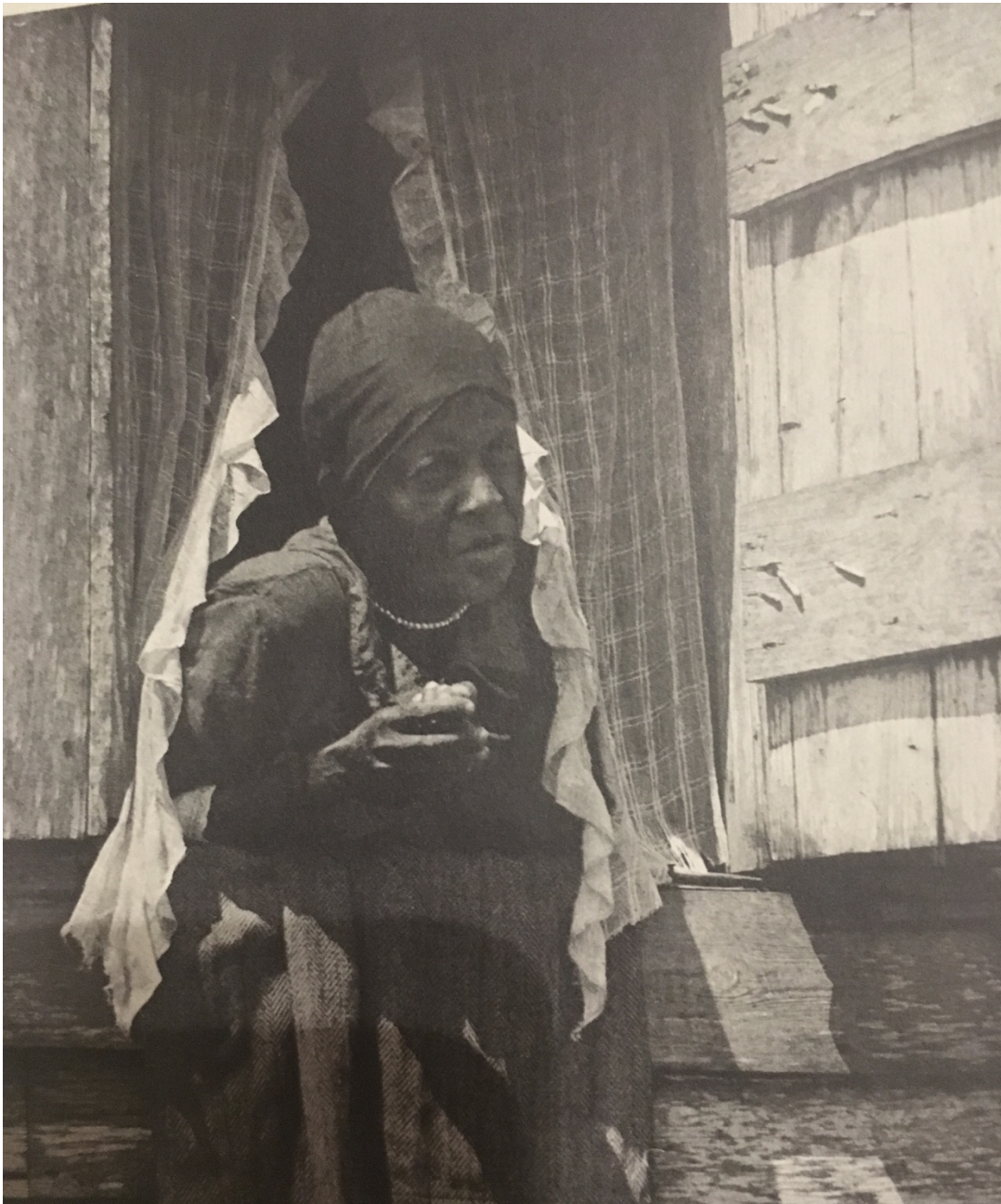


Figure XII

that is not included in *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. In this photograph, the woman's clothes are old and tattered, with the outer layer of her skirt bearing gaping holes. The woman stands in a casual stance, with one hand on her hip and one foot slightly forward, yet she is effortlessly balancing a large, woven basket upon her head. The top of the basket is difficult to discern, but the vague white mass is suggestive of either laundry or cotton. Her face is shaded by the basket, but she appears to be at ease, unconcerned with the large basket balancing on her head. This photograph's style, content, and perspective is consistent with Ulmann's pictures in *Roll, Jordan, Roll* that emphasize the black body working with traditional, pre-industrial methods. The exclusion of this photograph from *Roll, Jordan, Roll* suggests that Ulmann's photographic eye sought and choreographed African Americans performing manual labor completely independent of Peterkin's text or influence. Therefore, rather than being entirely guided by Peterkin's text, Ulmann's photographs compliment the text because her interest in preserving a "type" paralleled Peterkin's documentation of the Gullah life. Nonetheless, appearing alongside Peterkin's text, Ulmann's pictures become associated with Peterkin's words, thoughts, and ideas and consequently, Peterkin's representation and portrayal of African Americans in the South influence a reading of Ulmann's visual representations of African American lives.

This association and relationship with Peterkin's work contribute to Ulmann's traditional representation of plantation life. In the book, Peterkin is inspired by the anthropology of the 1930s, the wish to discover a genuineness that is lost in the world of modernism and seeks life that existed before modernization. Peterkin's *Roll, Jordan, Roll*

can be viewed as an endorsement of the Old South ideology before it is forever lost, as is evident in the opening of the text:

Some of the charm that made the life of the old South glamorous still lingers on a few plantations that have been so cut off from the outside world by rivers, wide swamps, and lack of roads they are still undisturbed by the restless present.

Wistfully holding to the past when they were part of a civilization never excelled in America, they keep their backs turned to the future and persistently ignore that strange thing called progress which so often means change without betterment (Peterkin 9)

Calling progress, a “strange thing” that “so often means change without betterment,”

Peterkin shows her bias in favor of the heritage and culture of the Old South and depicts the life on plantations as charming.

Peterkin’s wish to capture the ideology of the antebellum South and protect it against the changing, modernizing world is perhaps most evident in Chapter X in the character known as “Uncle.” Uncle is an elderly man, an ex-slave who “deplores the irreverence of the younger generation, disapproves of modern conveniences... and mourns the dissolution of the white aristocracy” (Landess 129). Uncle’s preferred company is his white neighbors, and when he visits, the servants’ “lack of manners makes him sorrowful because times have changed so much for the worse since he was young” (Peterkin 133). His opinion and beliefs belong to the antebellum South: in regards to labor, Uncle states “God made mules, Negros, poor buckras, and ‘overseer chillun’ to do the work, and ‘hand’ labor is beneath white ladies and gentlemen” (Peterkin 138). He regards Abraham Lincoln as a “white trash boy” who “grew up and started trouble” (Peterkin 138). While Uncle is clearly educated and able to recite multiplication tables and recount historical events, his education was clearly given with a white, Southern bias. His opinions directly reflect the opinions and admonitions of the

wealthy, white, Southern aristocracy. Such descriptions and narratives promote and capture the ideology and sociology of the Old South before and against the complete implementation of modernization. United in the ethnographic agenda that seeks to capture a culture and a people before they are forever lost, Ulmann's philosophy becomes associated with Peterkin's Old South ideology.

Ultimately, the differences between Welty and Ulmann's relationships to text factor into Welty's dislike of Ulmann's photography and her wish to differentiate her own photographs from Ulmann's. Welty's photographs are not directly related to her writing, while Ulmann's photographs appear in conjunction with Peterkin's text. By distinguishing her photography from her writing, Welty's photography seeks to maintain an autonomous meaning that Ulmann's photographs lose when in conjunction with Peterkin's narrative. Ulmann's association and collaboration with Peterkin likely contributed to Welty's dislike for Ulmann's work. Prior to the publication of *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, Welty had seen Peterkin's Broadway play based on her novel, *Scarlet Sister Mary*. She disliked the play and called it "ludicrous" (McHaney 58). It is, therefore, likely that this prior experience with Peterkin's work biased Welty against *Roll, Jordan, Roll* and thus Ulmann by association.

CONCLUSION

Eudora Welty and Doris Ulmann both photographed African Americans living in the South during the 1930s. Driven by an ethnographic urge to document a unique and fading American “type,” Ulmann photographed the Gullah community in Forte Motte, South Carolina. Eudora Welty, on the other hand, had no explicit ethnographic agenda when photographing African Americans living in her native state, Mississippi. Rather, she brought her camera with her on her travels throughout the state and photographed the people, expressions, and interactions that caught her eye. These different motivations and approaches to their subjects result in photographs that greatly differ from one another, despite their having similar interests in subject matter.

Welty’s dislike of Ulmann’s pictures is due to the vast differences in representation and portrayal of African Americans in the South. These differences in portrayal can first and foremost be attributed to their different photographic techniques. Ulmann was an esteemed pictorial photographer and her large, inflexible equipment and choreographed poses produce images that greatly differ from Welty’s more modern photographic aesthetic. As opposed to pictorialism, Welty preferred candid photography and used her small, hand-held camera to capture images of people’s everyday tasks, errands, and interactions. Welty’s candid aesthetic depicts a more modern representation of African Americans in the South, and it is easy to see that she disliked Ulmann’s older, more formal pictorial technique.

While photographing the South, Ulmann was an outsider with an ethnographic agenda. This quest to capture a vanishing lifestyle prompted Ulmann to see the South through a perspective that focused on images that tapped into an established iconography of the South. Consequently, Ulmann's photographs perpetuate and affirm stereotypical ideas of the South. In contrast, Welty possessed a familiarity with the South which allowed her to overlook established and expected images of African American life in the South. She did not turn her camera upon images of cotton picking or the poverty prevalent during the 1930s. Instead, she photographed people in their typical lives, relationships, and interactions.

Through their photography, Ulmann and Welty established different relationships with their subjects which factor into their varying photographic representations. Power dynamics play a large role in these relationships. As white women photographing African Americans, both Ulmann and Welty were in positions of power over their subjects, and it is unlikely that their subjects would have felt comfortable refusing their requests. Nevertheless, the degree of power imposed upon their subjects differs between Ulmann and Welty, and this results in different relationships between photographer and subject. As an older, wealthier, and more esteemed white woman from the North, Ulmann was a more powerful, imposing presence. Welty's youth and modest demeanor asserted less power and commanded less respect than Ulmann, and this, in turn, allowed her to gain an access into her subject's lives that Ulmann was not offered. This access allowed Welty the ability to capture the lives of her African American subjects and depict them in a progressive and empowering way. Welty counters established stereotypes of the laboring

black body and instead depicts her subjects enjoying themselves. She depicts empowered African American women by documenting them returning her gaze, a transgression of the established racial power dynamic. These progressive and empowering photographs are contrasted by Ulmann's photographs that perpetuate the image of the black body laboring in the field or as a servant and consistently depict her African American subjects averting their eyes from her camera and her gaze.

A final differentiating factor to consider is how images relate to text and context when analyzing what prompted Welty to dislike Ulmann's photographs. Welty claimed that her photographs and fiction stories were unrelated. Rather than using her photographs for literary inspiration, Welty relied upon her memories of photographic moments and events. Instead, the intertextuality of her photographs lies within her use of fictional photography. This contrasts with Ulmann, whose photographs are printed alongside Peterkin's text *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, and provide visual images of the narrative. It is likely that this association with Peterkin biased Welty against Ulmann's photographs, as Welty had already established a distaste for Peterkin's previous works.

Ultimately, each of these differences of technique, approach, and context culminate in different visual representations of a similar subject matter. Through their varying techniques and relationships to the South and their subjects, Welty and Ulmann promote different perspectives and understandings of African Americans living in the South, and Welty's dislike for Ulmann's photography provides insight into their different theories of photography's relationship to place, race, power, and photographer and subject.

Bibliography

- Atkins-Sayre, Wendy. "Snapshots of the South: Eudora Welty's Photography and Contested Images of Race." *Southern Communication Journal*, vol. 77, no. 2, 2012, pp. 77-93, doi: 10.1080/1041794X.2011.606520.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida*. Trans. Richard Howard. New York, NY, Hill and Wang, 2010.
- Barthes, Roland, and Susan Sontag. *A Barthes Reader*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 2009.
- Cole, Susan L., *Serious Daring: The Fiction and Photography of Eudora Welty and Rosamond Purcell*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, 2016.
- Featherstone, David. *Doris Ulmann, American Portraits*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1985.
- Henninger, Katherine. *Ordering the Façade: Photography and Contemporary Southern Women's Writing*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Hudgins, Nicole. "The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918 by Elizabeth Edwards (Review)." *Journal of Social History*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2014, pp. 789-791, doi:10.1093/jsh/sht131
- Jacobs, Philip Walker. *Life and Photography of Doris Ulmann*. University Press of Kentucky, 2001.
- Landess, Tom. *Julia Peterkin*. Boston, Twayne Publishers, 1976.
- Marrs, Suzanne. *Eudora Welty: A Biography*. Orlando: Harvest, 2006.
- McHaney, Pearl Amelia. *A Tyrannous Eye: Eudora Welty's Nonfiction and Photography*. Jackson, University of Mississippi, 2014.
- Mifflin, Jeffrey. "The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918." *Early Popular Visual Culture*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2013, pp 91-94,
- Millichap, Joseph R. "Eudora Welty's Photography and Fiction in the 1930s and After."

South Carolina Review, vol. 43, no. 2, 2011, pp. 33.

Newhall, Beaumont. *The History of Photography*. New York, NY, Museum of Modern Art, 1982.

Peterkin, Julia, and Doris Ulmann. *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. New York, NY, Robert O. Ballou, 1933

Pollack, Harriet. *Eudora Welty's Fiction and Photography: The Body of the Other Woman*. Athens, University of Georgia Press, 2016.

Reynolds, Larry J., and Gordon Hutner. *National Imaginaries, American Identities: the Cultural Work of American Iconography*. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2000

Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. Penguin Books, 1973.

Ulmann, Doris, and Robert Coles. *The Darkness and the Light: Photographs*. Millerton, N.Y: Aperture, 1974.

Welty, Eudora. *One Time, One Place: Mississippi in the Depression: A Snapshot Album*. Jackson, University of Mississippi, 2002.

White, Clarence H. Marianne Fulton, Bonnie Yochelson, and Kathleen A. Erwin. *Pictorialism into Modernism: The Clarence H. White School of Photography*. New York: Rizzoli, 1996.